

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/23/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 4/22/65, NY 694-S* advised that on that date he transmitted to the Soviets through the secondary channel -- ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN -- a number of partially-coded messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1)

"CCCPSU

"Heartfelt thanks on behalf of myself and members of our CPUSA Secretariat for the invites extended to twenty (20) leading CPUSA officials. We most sincerely hope that in the year 1965 we will be able to have 20 leading people of our National Committee enjoy and visit the First Land of Socialism, to see for themselves this great people and get acquainted with life in the Soviet Union and the Party struggle and for medical treatment and rest for those that need it. This, of course, is for CPUSA National Committee.

"At the same time we still bear in mind the offer you made to our Party in 1964 and which we were not able to fulfill at the time of inviting too the best and leading responsible elements on a state or district basis. This at the time we

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago - (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb

(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 7 1965 Special Agent in Charge

61-108

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NY 100-134637

"welcomed most heartily. Can this same invitation take place in 1965? We raise this and ask this most respectfully. To us it is so important that such cadre see and visit the Soviet Union that we have undertaken so far to send both to the May Day celebration and also as invitees such CP members.

"True that this will affect the quota of our National Committee, but we could not omit either such CP members and their wives who have in the course of these years of struggle and hardship ~~been~~ been in the forefront and have set an example for the membership to follow, the struggle for World Peace in this important of epics and the example set and shown by these most wonderful cadre in the class struggle.

"It is with pride that you will meet some of these in the next days to come. May we have a reply from you on this request so to know just how to allocate those whom we would like to send from our National Committee and some cadre from local and district levels.

"GUS HALL"

(2)

"CCGPSU

"The following CP members of the CPUSA May Day delegation will arrive in Moscow on April 28th on Flight #024 from Copenhagen. Arrival time in Moscow 7:30 PM. Please meet them.

ROSCOE PROCTOR (Chairman)

Mrs. VIRGINIA PROCTOR [REDACTED]

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PHILIP RAYMOND) -- They request to return home via Warsaw and Prague--Please request that they get visas for these cities to go there.

NY 100-134637

"MAX ROSEN) -- He, MAX, is from Korovograd, Kirov
MURIEL ROSEN) Region. Please help him locate his
4 brothers who have been lost since
World War II.

KNUTI SEITANIEMI -- (See special page on him)

PETTIS PERRY -- (See my request regarding a prolonged
medical treatment and rest for him)

WILLIAM ALLEN -- (See my request re medical treatment
and rest for him)

"Also, the following CP members of same CPUSA May
Day delegation will arrive in Moscow from Paris on Flight
#050 Aeroflot, April 29th 1:30 PM. Please meet them.

"SAMUEL NEUBERGER
MURIEL NEUBERGER

"Note: These two have since been added to the list --
ROBERT THOMPSON will tell you of him. Again
request that he have talk and interview with
USSR Ministry of Justice -- he is legal
expert in criminal law -- he will be happy to
lecture on that subject.

"Please note: Because DAVID SCHACHTER is badly needed here to
help organize the New York May Day celebration
(which he has been for the last 3 years) he will
have to delay his departure for USSR and not go to
USSR May Day celebration. However, have his visa
on hand with your Washington, D. C. Embassy for
his departure on a later date.

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

(3)

"CCCPSU

"I must call attention to the following CP member and a close personal friend of mine whom I have worked with and known for years in the farms and forests of my native state and neighborhood areas---I feel that you must take note of this genuine worker of the forest of my country. He is: KNUTI SEITANIEMI, Occupation: Lumberjack. KNUTI is also a Veteran of World War II.

"When he is finished with his visit and tour of the Socialist countries, he will request if he can return to USA via Finland. If so, please grant him this request. I would appreciate knowing this should he do this. Again my thanks and fraternal greetings.

"GUS HALL"

(4)

"CCCPSU

"ROBERT THOMPSON, a member of the CPUSA National Committee and of its National Board, also head of the New York CP, and [redacted] will depart from New York via Copenhagen, and will arrive Copenhagen 10:40 AM, April 29th. They will depart from Copenhagen for Moscow on S.A.S. #764, 3:05 PM, April 29th and arrive in Moscow 7:45 PM, April 29th. Please meet them.

b6
b7C

"While ROBERT THOMPSON has received an official invitation from the USSR War Veterans Committee for occasion of May 9th, our CPUSA National Board and myself deemed it best that they arrive in Moscow for the May Day celebration so that they see it and celebrate it together with those of our CPUSA May Day delegation, and also in that period to act together with ROSCOE PROCTOR as a co-chairman (only in the period when he is

NY 100-134637

"available for this while in Moscow.) He, THOMPSON, will be most helpful in this respect. So therefore since actually he is not a member of the May Day delegation, we respectfully request that he discreetly share in that honor. (We understand that this is entirely up to you in view of the official invite from the USSR War Veterans.) With this I would also wish to call to your attention the following:

"ROBERT THOMPSON has been seriously wounded several times when attempts were made to assassinate him during the period when the anti-Party feeling was at its height. Also, he received a most serious wound while in prison, resulting in which most of his scalp was removed and replaced by an artificial plate; this has caused, and is causing, great pain. The years of underground and prison have sapped much strength of a once robust and strong person. The war in Spain in which he was a Commander and his heroic deeds of World War II have taken their toll. This will be the first time in 25 years he will have the chance to rest and accept your most generous offer of medical treatment and rest. Perhaps your USSR scientists can help him in easing his pain. ROBERT THOMPSON, we are sure, will agree to the length of time it may take in this medical treatment -- he may even be impatient at times for fear that he is not in the midst of the struggle here but logic will be the best persuader -- in fact it would be wise that he ease his physical movements when first in Moscow since he has in the last few days left a hospital bed where he was recuperating from surgery. We know indeed that once he and his wife will be with you that he will be in good hands,

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

(5)

"New York
April 20, 1965

"CCCPSU

"Would appreciate if you will help and cooperate in helping our chairman of May Day delegation to request of the CP's of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Roumania, that when CPUSA delegates are finished with their tour of USSR, and on the way to return to USA, that they be guests of and visit their countries.

"Please transmit to the following CP Central Committees on behalf of our National Committee.

"Fraternal greetings

"GUS HALL"

"CP Central Committee - Poland
CP Central Committee - Czechoslovakia
CP Central Committee - East Germany
CP Central Committee - Hungary
CP Central Committee - Roumania

"The May Day delegation of the CPUSA consisting of active members of the CPUSA National Committee, of District Committees, and their wives, have just completed their visit and tour of the USSR. Accept, dear comrades, the warm fraternal greetings of our CPUSA, and also on behalf of myself and that of the Secretariat of the CPUSA. We most respectfully suggest that you invite some members of our delegation to visit your country as your guests for a few days. For some, to visit your Socialist country and acquaint themselves with life there and also that of your workers would be most helpful to them and to our Party.

NY 100-134637

"It is not often that our CP members have occasion to travel and therefore this request at this time and occasion.

"The chairmen of our delegation -- National Committee member ROBERT THOMPSON and Comrade ROSCOE PROCTOR -- can be reached through the CCCPSU.

"Again, our warmest fraternal greetings to your Central Committee.

"Fraternally

"GUS HALL
National Committee -
CPUSA"

(With reference to the above CPUSA delegation to the May Day celebration in Moscow, see NY airtel 4/21/65.

(6)

"CCCPSU

"Received \$15,000.00 for JESSICA SMITH of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"JACK BROOKS"

(7)

"Please note:

"I have instructed our comrades if in the event they are not met when arriving in Moscow that they are to phone to the following:

NY 100-134637

"Tel. 505607

ESTHER SHIELDS

Correspondent

'People's World,' San Francisco,

Leningradsky Prospect, 26,

Rod. 3 Apt. 12, Moscow."

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 4, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
The Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Effect of the Vietnam Crisis on Soviet Foreign Policy," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~." This information has been furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, the letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

EX 105

REC-34

5 MAY 5 1965

Enclosure

100-428091

WGS:pah
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Tavel _____
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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 7 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Robert S. McNamara

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*), who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See NYtel 4/26/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." This information was furnished the White House, Secretary of State, Director of CIA and Attorney General by letters dated 5/3/65.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 3, 1965

BY LIAISON

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Inspector Fields

Dear Admiral Raborn:

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Internal and Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed memorandum pertains to a struggle for power currently taking place within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the effect of the Vietnam crisis on Soviet foreign policy.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-34 100-428091-4152

May 2 2 58 PM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Enclosure

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WGS:pah
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Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 7 1965

MAIL ROOM

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C,"

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~~TOP SECRET~~

May 4, 1965

BY LIAISON

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Dear Mr. Watson:

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, and is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

The enclosed memorandum relates to the reaction of the Communist Party, USA, to the resolutions adopted at the March 1 through March 5, 1965, meeting of the communist parties in Moscow, Russia.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" This information is also being furnished to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

EX 105

5 MAY 5 1965

65 MAY 7 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D - READING ROOM

May 3 6 25 PM '65

Delivered 5-4-65 to
McLaird at 10:00 - 5/4/65

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100-428091-4753

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. NY 694-S* referred to as "sources" to further protect his identity. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 4/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 4/30/65, there was received from Soviets, via radio, a ciphered message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Your message was delivered to Castro on April 27."

The above message refers to a letter sent by GUS HALL to FIDEL CASTRO on 3/30/65. For information concerning same see NY airtel, 4/6/65, pages 10 and 11.

- 3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(7)

REC-34

4 MAY 5 1965

ST-108

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 7 1965 Special Agent in Charge

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 4, 1965

To: Director
National Indications Center

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - RUSSIA
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

b6
b7c

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Effect of the Vietnam Crisis on Soviet Foreign Policy," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information has been furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*), who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See NYtel 4/26/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." This information was furnished the White House, Secretary of State, Director of CIA and Attorney General by letters dated 5/3/65.

WGS:pah
(8)

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65 MAY 7 1965

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1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 4, 1965

EFFECT OF THE VIETNAM CRISIS ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

During April, 1965, a discussion was held in Moscow, Russia, in which various officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union commented on the effect of the Vietnam crisis on Soviet foreign policy. In essence, this discussion was as follows:

The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has indicated that great pressure is being exerted on the Soviet Union by satellite countries to do more about the Vietnam crisis. Demands are being made calling for the dispatch of the Soviet naval fleet, including missile firing submarines, to the Pacific in the Vietnam area. Pressure is also being exerted upon the Soviet Union to directly confront the United States in an effort to force the end of the bombing of North Vietnam.

The satellite countries have refused to accept the Soviets' excuse that the Chinese have prevented shipment of the latest weapons to North Vietnam and that the North Vietnamese have not asked for aid from Soviet volunteers. The satellite countries have expressed fear that the Soviet Union will "let them down as North Vietnam is being let down." As a result, the Soviet Union, in an effort to demonstrate its concern for the satellite countries, has decided to take more aggressive action in the Vietnam situation.

REC'D - READING ROOM
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WGS:pah
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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4755

~~TOP SECRET~~

EFFECT OF THE VIETNAM CRISIS
ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." Dissemination being made to Honorable Robert S. McNamara and Director, National Indications Center. This information has previously been disseminated to the White House, the Secretary of State, the Director of CIA, the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 3, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Shaw
- 1 - Inspector Fields

Dear Mr. Rusk:

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Internal and Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed memorandum pertains to a struggle for power currently taking place within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the effect of the Vietnam crisis on Soviet foreign policy.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Secret~~" This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-19

18 MAY 6 1965

Enclosure

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 7 1965

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TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
May 5, 1965

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - RUSSIA
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Sino-Soviet Relations and the Vietnam Situation," sets forth remarks made by a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during mid-April, 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

Enclosure

100-428091

CLASSIFIED BY 1628 P/AG
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
2/20/83

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

REC'D - READING ROOM
FBI
MAY 5 12 27 PM '65

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

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MAILED 27
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EX-100

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65 MAY 7 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1965

~~SECRET~~

~~SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS
AND THE VIETNAM SITUATION~~

In mid-April, 1965, a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, discussed matters relating to Sino-Soviet relations and the Vietnam situation. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

Sino-Soviet Relations

The Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, recently sent a "closed" letter to its membership in regard to the attacks being made upon the Soviet Union by the Communist Party of China. The membership was told that the Chinese are endeavoring to create a situation where they will be able to ideologically attack the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at will. In view of this situation, the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has decided not to reply to the attacks being made by the Chinese. In this manner the Central Committee hopes that the Communist Party of China will run out of material on which to base its attack.

Vietnam Situation

The Soviet Union requested permission of the Chinese leadership to fly Soviet planes over China because of the distances involved between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. In order to send fleets of bomber and fighter planes to Vietnam, it was necessary to make arrangements for a refueling stop in China. However, on both the matter of refueling stops and necessary flights over China, the Chinese refused to grant such permission. The Chinese have charged the Soviet Union with endeavoring to subordinate China in the Vietnam situation.

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**[SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS
AND THE VIETNAM SITUATION]** %

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After much delay the Chinese finally agreed to permit the Soviets to use the railroads in China for the shipment of a limited amount of armament to North Vietnam. However, the Chinese demanded and took control of such shipments during the period of passage through China. Although the Soviets at the present time are getting some materials through by rail, there still is a great deal of delay. X

The speech of United States President Lyndon B. Johnson on the Vietnam situation was an unsuccessful effort on his part to placate the opposition of the people of the United States to the war. No one took his speech seriously, particularly when it was followed by bombings of North Vietnam a few hours later. There is growing resistance to the efforts of the United States in Vietnam. U

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. See CGairtel 4/30/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, same caption, which lists the dissemination of this letterhead memorandum. (S) X

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Sino-Soviet Relations and the Vietnam Situation," sets forth remarks made by a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during mid-April, 1965, and is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

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REC-24

19 MAY 6 1965

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 7 1965

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MAY 5 12 28 PM '65

Delivered 5-5-65
Mailed 5-5-65

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Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1965

BY LIAISON

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Admiral Raborn:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Sino-Soviet Relations and the Vietnam Situation," sets forth remarks made by a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during mid-April, 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-428091

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65 MAY 7 1965

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declassification

19 MAY 6 1965

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)

NOTE:

Classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 5/3/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

5-8-65
5-8-65

On 5/3/65, there was received at the Michael Pelham drop in NYC, a letter from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Canadian CP, to GUS HALL, under the pseudonym HERBERT, the contents of which are as follows:

L

1-813RB
3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
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ENCLOSURE

100-24 / 4760
18 MAY 6 1965

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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NY 100-134637

NY 694-S* has stated that he is not familiar with the matters discussed in the above-mentioned letter and requests that CG 5824-S*, in the absence of GUS HALL, interpret the above communication and reply to it if necessary.

The original of the aforesaid letter is attached hereto for transmittal by the Chicago Office to CG 5824-S*.

April 30th.1965.

Dear Herbert:

My apologies for not having replied sooner. After my return from a western tour got involved in preparing for our little affair here which came off fairly well. Considerable attention of course was given to far off events since added to by a resurgence of gunboat diplomacy closer to home. Its part of one picture and a dangerous one at that.

Have passed on the information regarding the young person to those concerned.

Am glad to hear the lads have returned safe and sound and hope to hear further from you with respect to the joint effort in the fall. Before vacations set it, it might be useful to hold a joint exchange to make sure the project goes ahead with flying colors. Speaking of vacations the wife and I hope to get away about the middle of June and all going well, should be returning the end of July. The trip out west was fairly good, considerable press, radio and tv publicity which seems to be a new feature today and is of course, most welcome.

All the best and keep in touch.

as ever,

B

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4760
ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
The Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Sino-Soviet Relations and the Vietnam Situation," sets forth remarks made by a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during mid-April, 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~". This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

EX 110

Enclosure

CLASSIFIED BY 678 R-PLC
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
DOD HAND. REV. 2/5/85

REC-11

19 MAY 6 1965

100-428091

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

~~SECRET~~

65 MAY 12 1965

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Honorable Robert S. McNamara

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist" ~~(S)~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

May 6, 1965

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - EAST GERMANY
INTERNAL SECURITY - EAST GERMANY

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "The Berlin Crisis," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~." This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

MAILED 2

MAY 6 1965

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FBI
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NOTE:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 and CGairtel 4/30/65, both captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C." 100-428091-4762

EX 110

REC-11

18 MAY 6 1965

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~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

May 6, 1965

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

THE BERLIN CRISIS

During April, 1965, Herbert Warnke, a leading member of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Communist Party of East Germany), commented on the then current Berlin crisis. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

The West German Government deliberately provoked the crisis by scheduling a meeting of its Bundestag in West Berlin. The holding of this meeting was of a deliberate nature since there had not been such a meeting held in West Berlin for years. This action was an effort on the part of the West German Government to "recapture prestige which was lost when top officials of the East German Government visited Egypt."

The West German Government has been using the land and air corridors of East Germany in violation of the current treaties which provide that such use applies only to troop movements. As a result, the East German Government interfered with the Western traffic, and the resulting crisis was utilized by the United States as a means of diverting attention from the Vietnam situation.

Also during April, 1965, a discussion was held in Moscow, Russia, in which various officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union commented on the recent Berlin crisis. In essence, this discussion was as follows:

As a result of informal charges placed against the Soviet Union that it was not doing enough to help the North Vietnam Government, the Soviet Union was forced to take a more aggressive posture in order to demonstrate that it considers the security of the communist countries on its Western border as being of the highest importance. Therein lies the explanation for the vigorous demonstration of solidarity shown

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAY 10 1965
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ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

THE BERLIN CRISIS

by the Soviet Union with the East German Government at the time the West German Government scheduled a meeting of its Bundestag in West Berlin. This demonstration of solidarity involved the harassment of Western traffic in the land and air corridors to West Berlin as well as the display of Soviet air power. Through this action, the Soviet Union was able to demonstrate that it considered its Western border neighbors of the highest importance. In return, the Soviet Union expects to receive an understanding from the East German Government of the problems the Soviets are experiencing with the Chinese in the Soviets' efforts to aid the North Vietnam Government. This tough attitude on the part of the Soviet Union demonstrated no lack of concern for the North Vietnam Government, and the Soviet Union will continue this tough attitude in relation to all incidents affecting other communist countries.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/5/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," which sets forth the dissemination of this letterhead memorandum.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

*del. 5/6/88
WMM*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Rusk:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Sino-Soviet Relations and the Vietnam Situation," sets forth remarks made by a leading member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during mid-April, 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~TOP SECRET~~". This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

May 5 12 28 PM '65
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Sincerely yours,

EX 110

Enclosure

REC-11

100-428091-763

18 MAY 6 1965

100-428091

WGS:pah
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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

55 MAY 12 1965

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/4/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 4/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

ReNYairtel 4/19/65 reporting the results of a contact between NY 694-S* and NIKOLAI TALANOV on 4/17/65.

On 4/26/65, NY 694-S* was asked by the NYO to furnish any information he might have about [redacted] (Bufile 100-443374; NY file 100-144999). At the time, informant was given descriptive information concerning [redacted] including the latter's address of [redacted] and his being a graduate student at Columbia University.

NY 694-S* stated that the above inquiry regarding [redacted] and the information identifying [redacted] clarified a question asked of NY 694-S* by TALANOV on 4/17/65, which question at the time puzzled the informant because the latter did not know whom the question concerned.

NY 694-S* stated that he inadvertently had not reported this matter with respect to his meeting with TALANOV.

According to NY 694-S*, TALANOV asked whether the CPUSA had "located that young fellow -- I think his name is JACK -- we have been looking for." TALANOV stated that the

3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM AM)

1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)

1 - NY 105-14931 (NIKOLAI TALANOV) (341)

1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb

(8)

Approved: *[Signature]*

65 MAY 12 1965 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
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EX-116

REC-23

4764

NY 100-134637

Soviets had been trying to locate the "young fellow" at "the Riverside area."

NY 694-S* said that, in retrospect, he now believes that TALANOV, who is a new contact and not too familiar with matters handled by his Soviet predecessors, knew only that the Soviets were interested in locating a young fellow concerning whose whereabouts they had made inquiry in the past.

NY 694-S* believes that TALANOV's inquiry concerning "JACK" was intended to be an inquiry about [redacted]

b6
b7C

CG airtel to Bureau and NY, captioned "SOLO, IS-C" and dated 1/18/65, reflects that in December 1964, CG 5824-S* was asked by a Soviet in Moscow to obtain all available information concerning a young man named [redacted]

b6
b7C

NY airtel 2/17/65 reflects, on page 6 thereof, that, pursuant to instructions from GUS HALL, NY 694-S* notified the Soviets on 2/16/65 that CG 5824-S* would furnish information concerning [redacted] when the aforesaid informant should arrive in Moscow.

b6
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The information above is being disseminated to the New York file on [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

May 3, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

1 - Belmont
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Insp. Fields
1 - Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

The following information furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

The Communist Party, USA, has sent a delegation of thirteen Party members to the Soviet Union to attend the May Day celebration in that country. Robert Thompson and Roscoe Proctor, both members of the Party's National Committee, are cochairmen of the delegation. The Communist Party, USA, has expended \$6,000 to cover the travel expenses of the delegation.

The Supreme Court decision of June 22, 1964, which provided that the State Department had to give passports to members of the Communist Party, USA, afforded the Party a golden opportunity to reward its "more deserving" members by providing them with an expense-free trip to the Soviet Union where they will be feted, indoctrinated and imbued with an enthusiasm to return to the United States and work with renewed vigor in their nefarious aim of infecting our Nation with communism.

This information is also being furnished to interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

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EX-116

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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18 MAY 7 1965

See note page 2.

65 MAY 12 1965

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May 3 3 42 PM '65
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Delivered 5-4-65
Michael Doyle
5/1/65

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in damage to the national defense. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/23/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

May 3, 1965

Director, FBI

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - RUSSIA

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Shaw
- 1 - Inspector Fields

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Internal and Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed memorandum pertains to a struggle for power currently taking place within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the effect of the Vietnam crisis on Soviet foreign policy.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~". This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

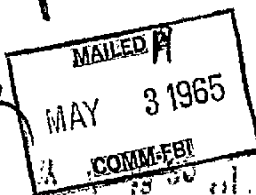
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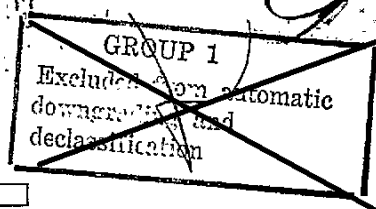
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65 MAY 12 1965

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1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Inspector Fields

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 3, 1965

INTERNAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION

During April, 1965, a discussion was held in Moscow, Russia, in which various officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union commented on the internal and foreign affairs of the Soviet Union. In essence, this discussion was as follows:

Power Struggle

There is a struggle for power currently taking place within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the question of leadership is not yet fully resolved. At the present time, Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appears to have an edge which he only achieved at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Brezhnev is following the "Khrushchev policy of liberalization" in domestic and foreign affairs. Brezhnev is considered as the leader with the greatest ability and he is continuing to build an apparatus around himself.

However, there are various groups vying for power and concessions are being made to these groups. One such concession relates to the partial rehabilitation of the late Soviet Premier Stalin by issuing, for example, some historic document giving Stalin credit for positive achievements, such as victories during World War II.

Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin, backed by the Soviet bureaucracy, represents another faction in the power struggle. Kosygin's faction, which is still not the dominant group, advocates a return to the period before the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was essentially a pro-Stalin period. Kosygin is being deterred in his quest for power by recent replacements in the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, such as the elevation of Kiril T. Mazurov and the replacement of Leonid F. Ilichev by Pyotr N. Demichev as head of the Ideological Department.

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INTERNAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Kosygin's trip to North Vietnam appears to have been merely camouflage to permit his two visits to Peking, China, where he thought he might be able to reach an agreement with the Chinese leadership. Kosygin's visits to Peking were made against the consensus of the majority of the Presidium, including Brezhnev. The chief opposition has come from the younger members of the leadership who control the "security organs." These younger members include A. N. Shelepin, Secretary of the Central Committee, and Vladimir Semichastny, head of the Soviet secret police.

Some members of the leadership of the Soviet military forces are pushing for a more national and almost pro-Stalin policy in domestic and foreign affairs. As a result, the dominant group is endeavoring to take steps to demobilize the pro-Stalin factions because it believes that reverting toward the "Stalinist period" is creating discord among the Soviet people, especially among the youth, since a more militant policy in foreign affairs leads toward war. It was because of this factor that Brezhnev made his recent speech promising more consumer goods, lower prices and higher wages in an effort to curry favor with the Soviet people.

A Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be called before the end of this year, and it is believed that the power struggle will be resolved at that time.

Vietnam Crisis

The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has indicated that great pressure is being exerted on the Soviet Union by satellite countries to do more about the Vietnam crisis. Demands are being made calling for the dispatch of the Soviet naval fleet, including missile firing submarines, to the Pacific. Pressure is also being exerted upon the Soviet Union to directly confront the United States in an effort to force the end of the bombing of North Vietnam. The satellite countries have refused to accept the Soviets' excuse that the Chinese have prevented shipment of the latest weapons to North Vietnam and that the North Vietnamese have not asked for aid from Soviet volunteers. The satellite countries have expressed fear that the Soviet Union will "let them down as North Vietnam is being let down." As a result, the Soviet Union, in an effort to demonstrate its concern for the satellite countries, has decided to take more aggressive action in the Vietnam situation.

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INTERNAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." Dissemination being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Director ~~John A. Malone~~ of the Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General; and the Deputy Attorney General.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 6, 1965

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - WEST GERMANY
INTERNAL SECURITY - WEST GERMANY

Recently a member of the Political Bureau, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of West Germany, gave a report on the current political situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Communist Party of West Germany. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

Main Political Parties

At the present time there are three main political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany: the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party. Elections are scheduled for September, 1965, and it appears the Social Democrats are in a better position than they were a few years ago with regard to winning. The Social Democrats are gaining support from the masses due, in part, to economics, prices, rents and partially to foreign policy questions. Many people believe the Christian Democratic Union has become disunited and has a weak leadership. No one knows who will win the elections but it is believed that if the Socialist Democratic Party wins it will form some kind of coalition for a "national government."

Policies of the Christian Democratic Union

The Christian Democratic Union is the representative of the monopolists, and their leading personalities in government are linked with the trusts.

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65 MAY 12 1965

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(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

The main line of the Christian Democratic Union is to get nuclear weapons either through the multilateral force or by joining with President DeGaulle of France. They will not join with DeGaulle because they like him or his policies, but because they want "revenge" and need the atomic bomb.

The Christian Democratic Union continues to demand restoration of the German borders of 1937 and to call the German Democratic Republic "only a rebellious province." The Communist Party of West Germany believes the West German Government is the strongest military power on the continent of Europe. Its conventional weapons are stronger than those of France and Great Britain combined.

One of the greatest present dangers is that the "adventures" of the West German "revengists" will draw in the United States, Great Britain and others. If this happens, there is danger of war. These "adventures" in the form of "constant provocations" are best illustrated by the recent meeting of the West German Parliament in Berlin.

Trade Unions

The trade unions have now moved to the left of the Social Democratic Party. Although this Party continues to lead the trade unions politically, many inside the trade unions are against this leadership even on political questions.

There is a growing left wing in the trade-union movement which might have been called "reformist" in the past, but if looked at objectively, it can be seen as a class line full of changes for the monopolies. Recently the trade-union movement called for nationalization of industry, but the Social Democratic Party leaders opposed this action. The Communist Party of West Germany accepts this proposal and is organizing active support for it.

There are twenty-five million employed in West Germany. Seventy-five to eighty per cent belong to the working class and office employees. Six million are organized in trade unions. The Communist Party of West Germany has pointed out that, while the monopolies are represented in the West German Parliament, the trade-union main line is not, and the Party is suggesting to the trade unions that they demand representation.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

The basic strength in the left-wing trade unions lies in the metal, mining and building industries. Most of the Communist Party cadres are active in the lower union levels and as stewards. The trade unions in general have no rules requiring the expulsion of communists although there are restrictions. There have been few expulsions.

Status of the Communist Party of West Germany

Although the Party is illegal, most of its work is being done legally. The Party made the mistake of over-estimating illegality. However, in the recent past recruiting has been done. In the past year there were five to six thousand recruits.

The Party publishes three papers illegally, including "Free People," the Party's central organ of eight pages which appears once a month, and the theoretical organ "Knowledge and Action." Factory groups also issue factory papers in the name of the Communist Party.

There are approximately ten weekly publications in major areas which, while not centralized, put forward the basic Communist Party policy without so saying. The total circulation of these weeklies may accumulate to 100,000.

Since the Party is illegal, only a few leaders are named. The leaders are usually in an illegal status or are working in legal occupations. Communist Party groups meet as study groups and maintain no Party material. Dues are increasing but no records are kept. A solidarity fund for defense work and for families of political prisoners is maintained.

Party youth work is in the peace movement and communist influence is strong. There are active Party groups in the universities but their influence is narrow.

The above information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this information "~~Top Secret~~."

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

b6
b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

NOTE:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*), who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 5/1/65 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

b6
b7C

May 6, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Admiral Raborn:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "The Berlin Crisis," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

EX-116

Enclosure

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 and CGairtel 4/30/65, both captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

100-428091

WGS:pah

65 MAY 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: May 5, 1965

FROM : E. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/5/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time two messages, NR 375 GR 190 and NR 376 GR 252, were intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

2- ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

EX 110

HS:dry

(7)

REC-28

16 MAY 7 1965

65 MAY 12 1965

5/5/65

NR 375 GR 190

5/ 5/65

92918 46391 34951 07645 42418 45036 64790 54539 59378 04045
86822 45500 48530 47398 50569 85191 26763 54336 48341 04815
91920 56766 24377 83108 30284 82970 99898 05849 50061 44184
74188 37273 85909 71604 64961 63180 57612 49954 59606 64745
64498 73609 95182 95361 84068 45814 58653 90987 77563 19698
64953 80636 61730 96208 20923 94561 62282 16723 09169 74887
39870 20920 82046 10782 26200 96894 30719 40865 12063 48385
77526 55222 19673 01456 56955 61593 07375 26427 77649 53113
62357 30260 39253 91818 73069 55445 71095 13344 33836 33024
98763 92201 93060 86903 24451 42276 87188 39189 53826 50720
43922 50653 20471 87107 47103 87175 86338 62936 44191 07115
72328 85283 28300 99976 85881 13571 09906 56584 25442 71494
94824 74785 51127 36734 68116 02246 00845 38320 28149 29065
11936 64704 53918 17839 80362 52198 26185 22070 93462 62449
65869 47117 79465 23659 30547 49163 32012 06267 22299 65755
54038 97995 06879 10923 40109 99990 44881 88532 10096 65078
10143 13294 66170 52703 77762 31217 85663 59502 25696 58934
68107 02038 69205 51506 52781 63792 83644 10262 93575 84315
42419 90772 77829 28975 57022 54831 48454 61482 60686 25628

*PAPER PATENTED BY N.C.R. CO., PRINTED BY DATAFOLD FORMS, INC. NCR 810

100-425071-4769
ENCLOSURE

#1#. WE HAVE AN IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR BIRCH. IT IS VERY DESIRABLE TO SEE HIM AT OUR RECEPTION IN NEW YORK ON MAY #9# OR #10#. PLEASE ADVISE IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO COME. OTHERWISE IT WILL BE GIVEN TO YOU THROUGH SAINT AFTER MAY #10#. IN THIS CASE YOU SHOULD CONFIRM RECEPTION BY PHONE ON DELIVERY DAY. #2#. WE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE TEN BIRDS FOR OUR RECEPTION IN CASHIER OF AIRPORT MAY #9#. GIVE US THEIR NAMES TOMORROW THROUGH SAINT. #3#. COLOUR PRINTS ARE READY FOR DELIVERY. MAY BE GIVEN TO YOU ANY TIME WE CAN SEE YOU. #4#. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF INVITING SHROEDER TO HOTEL. ADVISE WHETHER HE WILL ACCEPT INVITATION FROM OUR ECONOMIC INSTITUTE AND WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO INVITE HIM ALONE OR AS A MEMBER OF ANY DELEGATION

NR 375 GR 252

5/ 5/65

46148 91431 17672 17022 12412 51872 73018 84607 42593 88953
02968 83414 78509 23436 43546 65018 28603 13907 60857 93407
25289 74832 94671 76253 25672 19727 00709 62890 54576 66332
62850 87839 65039 13803 98436 78824 38669 95928 59852 04246
77524 09850 39626 92741 18462 80542 50580 69797 91406 80144
41343 38274 55447 80428 24806 72707 89790 46322 30035 18071
96653 91550 92196 59742 75270 24990 76887 61255 22117 59391
68584 53920 57293 12122 48629 85186 13074 48097 57945 42337
08621 99679 83051 65637 66640 30869 72688 27324 65091 48581
17590 63129 29197 78827 62602 27972 41279 73904 76112 83036
03033 04320 59818 74709 47838 01395 82560 40554 09343 84871
33191 77329 84015 66869 43864 89645 17597 39802 58794 22875
79029 34150 51476 63420 90374 89174 95555 15557 53680 88555
98100 32326 44683 87288 91225 19629 10780 23358 49901 49025
76591 13265 85877 01018 95290 20769 92890 63169 19149 90720
52943 28227 22385 55958 81938 56793 89907 01594 38476 18015
30385 58989 17817 00227 54261 76811 33813 95940 68495 85660
50387 04208 18234 95072 91035 48483 97930 96554 02673 33527
40289 49297 14025 12537 19920 64232 79707 62194 50170 95970
90538 87922 49206 47267 28838 20648 80375 61474 72357 79733
32169 10259 99661 03544 21636 56554 41466 95979 60582 28121
13671 76904 32038 71442 98259 43391 30333 46058 67113 88427
54588 71395 59880 72317 73453 22997 02652 30446 72801 45565
58688 85961 76393 46138 28738 15772 94237 37029 96378 34297
87216 61154 06416 78334 37813 03476 93412 28974 70764 38811
72810 15582

100-428091-4969

ENCLOSURE

TO BIRCH. #1#. ALL COUSINS CAP IN HOTEL. PLEASE NOTE THAT TRA
VEL AGENCY THEY BOUGHT TICKETS THROUGH HAS OLD TIME-TABLE A
ND MISINFORM ON TH THEIR ARRIVAL TIME TO HOTEL. #2# #3# DAVIS & D
AVIS DISCUSSED WITH OUR TRADE UNIONS JUNE-JULY LAST TIME OF HI
SLAND VISIT. YOUR MESSAGE ON HIS WISH TO TAKE PART IN FIRE CELE
BRATION WAS RECEIVED TOO LATE. IF HE PERSONALLY WISHES TO
CAP TO HOTEL ON MAY #8# OUR TRADE UNIONS ARE READY TO MEET HIM.
PLEASE CONVEY THIS TO HIM. HE MAY TAKE LUGGAGE FOR HIMSELF AND
HIS WIFE IN CASHIER FAIR. AS #24# COUSINS LAND IS CONCERNED
OUR TRADE UNIONS ARE CONSIDERING THIS QUESTION NOW BECAUS
E OR ^TGSNAL PLANS WERE MADE FOR #8# COUSINS ONLY. DAVIS WILL B
E INFORMED ON THEIR DECISION VERY SOON. #3#. PROBLEM OF NES
T DOCUMENTS PUBLISHING WILL BE SOLVED EARLY NEXT WEEK WHEN R
E PRESENTATIVE OF PRESS AGENCY "NOVOSTY" "NOVOSTY" WILL RET
URN TO COVE. THIS REPRESENTATIVE IS INSTRUCTED TO CARRY ON N
EGOTIATIONS WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES ON NEW BASIS AND TAK
ING INTO ACCOUNT YOUR INTERESTS

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/3/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Comments of Arnolando Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary, Communist Party of Mexico, Regarding the Communist Party of Mexico."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

③ Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:NDW
(5)

Approved: MJ/ey
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 10 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was developed during the course of discussions held with ARNOLEO MARTINEZ VERDUGO, First Secretary of the CP of Mexico, in Moscow, USSR, on 2/28 and 3/1/65. Present at these discussions, in addition to CG 5824-S*, were GILBERT GREEN, HYMAN LUMER, and JAMES JACKSON, CP, USA delegates who were then in Moscow to attend the 3/1/65 consultative meeting.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~COMMENTS OF ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO,
FIRST SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
MEXICO, REGARDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF MEXICO~~

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

In late February and early March, 1965, Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) of Mexico, met with a group of individuals in Moscow, USSR, for the purpose of briefing them on the current outlook of and political situation in the CP of Mexico. The essence of Verdugo's remarks at this time was as follows:

In 1960 the CP of Mexico held its Thirteenth Congress. At this Congress, a major reorganization of the CP of Mexico took place. Dionisio Encinas, then First Secretary, and the Organizational Secretary as well as most members of the Political Bureau were unanimously replaced. This action also affected Party organization. Decisions to undertake this revamping of the CP of Mexico was done with almost unanimous consent of the Congress. At this extraordinary Congress we also reviewed the work of the Party from its very beginning up to 1960. Before 1960, we found there was general discontent with the leadership of the Party. There had been a decline in Party membership and in the influence of the Party. Encinas' regime was characterized by arbitrary rule. A good number of the old-time Party members had been excluded from leadership and a split was in the making. The rightist tendency in the Party at that time was very influential and Encinas was no longer capable of organizing the work of the Party. During the period of 1958 to 1960 the Party leadership was hostile to

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-425091-4770
ENCLOSURE

COMMENTS OF ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO,
FIRST SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
MEXICO, REGARDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF MEXICO

~~TOP SECRET~~

the growth of mass movements, strikes like those in the railroad industry, and to action of the farmers.

In addition from our review we found that the membership was not only discontented but also distrustful of their leadership. This was why we found it necessary to change the leadership and its line. After the Congress, the unity of our Party grew. The influence of the Party began to grow in numbers also. The authority of our Party began to grow. The new leadership now put emphasis on the link of the Party with the masses. Actually, since 1960, the membership of our Party has grown twofold.

The peasant movement in Mexico under the leadership of the Independent Peasants Organization is most important. They now have some 60,000 members in this Peasant Organization.

The contact of our Party has increased and is not limited to Vicente Lombardo Toledano's Party, the Partido Popular. Lombardo Toledano in the past has been against our growing contacts with the masses and he has attempted to influence their political orientation.

There has now been created a new organization known as the National Liberation Movement. Participating in this organization is former President Lazaro Cardenas and he takes an important role. We helped to create the organization.

As far as the trade union movement is concerned, our contacts have been weak because of bourgeoisie and government influence with the leadership of the trade unions.

Now, I would like to speak on some problems of a political nature, first of all our new government. We think that President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz will continue the policies of former President Lopez Mateos with some additional "right" tendencies. Generally, the policy of the CP is one in opposition to the regime of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. However, we do support the government's policy in regard to its contacts and relations with Cuba. There is a difference on this matter between us and Lombardo Toledano's Partido Popular. Lombardo Toledano supports all policies of this government--both domestic and foreign--and also the negative policy of the government

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO,
FIRST SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
MEXICO, REGARDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF MEXICO

~~TOP SECRET~~

toward the trade unions and other mass organizations. At the same time, Lombardo Toledano wages a struggle against our Party. Not all leaders of the Partido Popular agree with Lombardo Toledano and some want unity of action with us. Therefore, it is our tactic to call for unity of action with this Party but fight on the front of ideology with Lombardo Toledano.

We are working now to achieve friendship with General Lazaro Cardenas. He, too, basically supports the policies of the present government but Cardenas, unlike Lombardo Toledano, is not fighting us. On the contrary, Cardenas wants to work with us. We cooperate with Cardenas in connection with his organization the National Liberation Movement. Lombardo Toledano is hostile to the Cardenas movement.

In Mexico, today, there is a growth in the people's mass movement. Our Party's influence is growing in this movement.

As to the size of Lombardo Toledano's organization, he claims thousands but actually his Party is small. In many parts of the country they have no papers, magazines, or organization. In the Partido Popular the youth are friendly to us and with our youth.

In regard to relations with other Parties, a recent meeting of our Central Committee decided closer ties were necessary. As a result, we are presently sending literature to several cities in the United States but we do not know if the CP there receives it. Recently, in addition, some comrades on the board of the new publication "History and Society," which publishes some Soviet material, offered to exchange articles with organizations in the United States. In regard to the publication "Politica," the CP of Mexico does not control it but it is in the control of Cuban comrades. We are little by little trying to influence it away from leftism and sectarianism. However, this magazine does play an important role in Mexico and does publish some of our documents as well as a number of Soviet documents.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/3/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

6
SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Comments of Leading Brazilian Communist Party Members, March, 1965, Regarding Political Situation in Brazil and on Brazilian Communist Party."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26-28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM) EX-110 REC-28
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

13 MAY 7 1965

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

77 MAY 19 1965

Special Agent in Charge

2 ENCL'S DESTROYED 5-14-75

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information pertaining to the discussions in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was developed during the course of a meeting held by A. ZILLER and L. MOTTA with CP, USA representatives on 3/3/65, Moscow, USSR. The CP, USA representatives participating in this meeting were CG 5824-S* and HYMAN LUMER. Both ZILLER and MOTTA had attended the 3/1/65 consultative meeting of 19 CPs in Moscow and as of the week of 4/19/65 were in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF LEADING BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY MEMBERS, MARCH, 1965, REGARDING
POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL AND ON
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

In early March, 1965, A. Ziller and L. Motta, both leading representatives of the Brazilian Communist Party (CP), met with several individuals from another fraternal Party for the purpose of briefing them on the current political situation in Brazil and on the subject of the current status of the Brazilian CP. At the time, it was learned that Ziller reportedly is one of the leading Brazilian CP members who is being sought by the Brazilian Government. Ziller had escaped from Brazil and had been to Moscow, USSR, for the March 1, 1965, consultative meeting of the nineteen CPs and as of late April, 1965, was observed in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The essence of the comments of Ziller and Motta dealing with the Brazilian CP and the political situation in Brazil was as follows:

By way of self-criticism, we, in the Brazilian CP, acknowledge that in the past we had seen only one path to socialism, the peaceful road. Now, however, we recognize the need for consideration of the armed path as well. We also do realize we must be for immediate demands but that in calling for such demands, we must always be with the masses.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-425091-4771
ENCLOSURE

COMMENTS OF LEADING BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY MEMBERS, MARCH, 1965, REGARDING
POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL AND ON
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

~~TOP SECRET~~

Today, we have a better situation in Party organization, a matter which had been our weak point in the past. There are many trade union struggles going on as well as a student upsurge.

The peasants are struggling harder today. Although the peasants in Northeast Brazil are being suppressed and their leaders are being murdered, they are groping their way back and organizing and arming. While the recent land law reforms are no good, they do give us a handle to carry out discussions with the peasants on how to use the law and how to organize to get a better law.

The political situation in Brazil is better today than at the time of the military coup in April, 1964. Presently, there are no CP members in prison in Sao Paulo State. Elections have been scheduled for city governments in some seventy towns in this state and there are eight slates of candidates up for the Governorship of this state which has a population of some five million people. The military leaders of the April coup are generally against these elections. There is, however, a split among the military and we have doubts they can stop these elections which are scheduled for March. At the present time, the Brazilian CP is without either electoral or legal right but the CP fights for the elections and we do have some united fronts.

In the City of Sao Paulo there are seven candidates running for the position of Mayor and all are aligned against President Humberto Castelo Branco. Whatever Branco does always favors the United States monopolies and this cooperation goes back to Italy when he served as a Major fighting alongside United States troops.

Since the military coup, the cost of living in Brazil is up one-hundred percent.

Today both the Brazilian CP as well as our Party press are illegal. Yet, there are some major daily publications speaking out against the military dictatorship and which favor democracy. Some good examples of these are "Correio de Manaha,"

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF LEADING BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY MEMBERS, MARCH, 1965, REGARDING
POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL AND ON
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

~~TOP SECRET~~

the "Jornal do Brasil," and "Ultima Hora."

When General Branco gave the United States firm, the Hanna Company, the authority to build its mining port, Carlos Lacerda, the Governor of Guanabara State, stood out against it. Later, he came out against United States Ambassador Lincoln Gordon and also made some strong statements against imperialism. However, we think Lacerda has ties with the West Germans who are coming into Brazil with big investments. The Brazilian Government has already received some loans from West Germany. In addition, Krupp, Volkswagen, and Mercedes Benz have moved in. Former President Juscelino Kubitschek was the one who had originally brought the Germans in.

The national bourgeoisie is not satisfied at this time. They want more controls of the economy. They feel the monopolists are getting all and the small businessman nothing. He has no financing or credit. They feel they are working for the monopolists and are dissatisfied. While Petro Broz, the government-controlled oil industry, is still owned, it will be broken up against the wishes of the people. The steel mills, while still under government control, will soon be given away.

Some of the leading Brazilian right-wing militarists are also very nationalistic. The same applies to the civilian groups; for example, Lacerda who heads one such group is anti-communist but also very nationalistic.

Today, the working class in Brazil remains united even though the government intervenes. There is a united front with Joao Goulart's Labor Party, the second Party in size in Brazil today and one which is still legal.

The coup of April, 1964, did not succeed as well as the monopolists and the United States had hoped and expected. There have been many strikes and conditions exist for driving the military out.

As far as the Brazilian CP is concerned, we are growing stronger. More recruits are coming into the Party. The left movement in Brazil does have an organization and they also are illegal. The Chinese have considerable

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF LEADING BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY MEMBERS, MARCH, 1965, REGARDING
POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL AND ON
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

~~TOP SECRET~~

influence among the Sergeants organization in the Army, students, etc. None of them are in prison. However, they have little influence among the working class and they hinder our efforts toward a united front.

CIA organized the sailors and marines of Brazil against President Goulart and these adventures laid the basis for the military coup which deposed him. While at the time of the coup, we had representatives in the Sergeants organization in the Army; a number of other groups were also represented there. One of these was the group representing Leonel Brizola, Governor of Rio Grande do Sul State. They fell at that time into the trap of imperialism.

For your information and contrary to what has been published, Luis Carlos Prestes has not been removed and is still our General Secretary. The "L'Unita," organ of the CP of Italy, printed this provocation like a number of other publications. They even went so far as to say that Mario Alves, who was then in prison, had replaced Prestes as the General Secretary.

In Sao Paulo, the illegal paper we publish there is "Combat." Our other paper "The Worker's Voice," is now also illegal. We still publish a theoretical journal but it is being printed and circulated in mimeographed form.

Some members of our Party are in prison and this includes five members of the National Committee. They were caught after the coup while attempting to carry out their work. Altogether, roughly one hundred rank and file people are now in prison. In addition, there are hundreds of others, mainly supporters of Goulart, also in prison. In view of this, there is a need to raise amnesty slogans.

Presently, we have some communists at work in legal movements, including youth and women's activities. We are also at work in a united front with some Catholics.

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF LEADING BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY MEMBERS, MARCH, 1965, REGARDING
POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL AND ON
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

~~TOP SECRET~~

At the time of the April, 1964, coup, we had forces which might have prevented it but they were not organized. The CP's mistake was the lack of class identity and too much trust in people like Goulart, Brizola, and others. When the moment arrived for action, they either wavered or gave up.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC-6
ST-117

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Comments of Herbert Warnke, Member of Political Bureau, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on Berlin Crisis and Other Related Matters Affecting the German Democratic Republic."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26, 27, and 28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4)(RM) 2 enc destroyed 5/16/65
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

EX 110 REC-28

18 MAY 7 1965

Approved: *MJ/ef*

Sent _____ M

Per _____

65 MAY 20 1965

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was secured by the source during a meeting held in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, on 4/6/65. The only American present, in addition to the source, was GIL GREEN, a member of the National Board of the CP, USA, who had previously been to Moscow for the 3/1/65 consultative meeting of the 19 CPs and was now visiting the German Democratic Republic.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.

APR 3 15 31 PM '65

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

- 2 -



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

April 30, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF HERBERT WARNKE, MEMBER OF
POLITICAL BUREAU, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY
OF GERMANY, ON BERLIN CRISIS AND OTHER
RELATED MATTERS AFFECTING THE GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during late April, 1965, advised that in early April, 1965, Herbert Warnke, a member of the Political Bureau and Head of the Trade Union Commission, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), held a discussion relating to the then current Berlin crisis and other matters affecting current relations of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The essence of Warnke's remarks at this time was as follows:

The Bonn Government deliberately provoked the current crisis in Berlin by calling this meeting of the Bundestag in Berlin at this time. Berlin is not a part of West Germany. Berlin is territory sitting in the midst of the GDR. Berlin is closer to the GDR borders and to Poland than it is to the FRG. Why then did they create this crisis? It results from their desire for revengism and is an effort to annex GDR, Czechoslovakian, Polish, and USSR territory. They have created special organizations of refugees in the FRG to keep the pot boiling. They intentionally keep the tension up. This session of the Bundestag in Berlin is an effort on the part of the Bonn Government to recover some of that prestige lost when First Secretary Ulbricht made his recent visit to Egypt.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-42107-4772
ENCLOSURE

COMMENTS OF HERBERT WARNKE, MEMBER OF
POLITICAL BUREAU, SUPG, ON BERLIN CRISIS
AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS AFFECTING THE
GDR

~~TOP SECRET~~

In addition to all of this, the Bonn Government also wants to prevent West Berliners and others from visiting East Berlin. They also want to use our roads and air corridors at the same time. However, the treaties concerning these roads and air corridors through the GDR apply only to troop movements of the United States, Great Britain, and France. The Bonn Government also wants to influence the politics of the United States Government and this is another reason for their action. The GDR, using the Czechoslovak Government, protested the action of the FRG in calling this meeting of the Bundestag. This protest was filed with Great Britain. When we prohibited and interfered with this travel, they, in West Berlin, talked of the "explosive nature of the Bundestag meeting." The holding of this meeting was of a deliberate nature since there had not been such a meeting held in Berlin for years.

We should be careful not to exaggerate possible disagreements between the Washington Government and Bonn. We must remember that the United States' toe hold in Europe is based on West Germany. In addition, the United States uses the Berlin incident to divert attention from Vietnam. We, in the SUPG, consider the situation in Vietnam to be very dangerous to world peace. Yet, at the same time, we cannot forget that we are on the frontier; in fact, it is only two blocks away.

The economic situation in the GDR has improved tremendously since August, 1961. The speculation in currency has ceased and the West can no longer drain it off as they used to. The West now finds that it cannot carry out its past acts of sabotage and can no longer entice our workers. Before we put up our new boundary in Berlin, it had cost us thirty billion Marks. We are on the way to achieving the technical revolution which is being led by the working class building socialism. We now rely upon the initiative of the people and cooperation between the intelligentsia and the working class. We have real teamwork and are working closer together. However, we still have in the

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF HERBERT WARNKE, MEMBER OF
POLITICAL BUREAU, SUPG, ON BERLIN CRISIS
AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS AFFECTING THE
GDR

~~TOP SECRET~~

GDR a combination of centralization (socialist) and private enterprises. We help certain private enterprises financially if they want to receive it. However, any state funds so invested must be protected. Most of these capitalists engaged in private enterprises belong to petty bourgeoisie parties like the Liberal Party, Free Democrats, or Peasant Party. While these capitalists do continue to carry out their private enterprises, they are not in any of our key industry but rather are in the production of consumer goods and employ at the most a few hundred workers. These capitalists say now that they live better than their fathers and that they are not being driven into bankruptcy by the monopolies. They feel that this new system has helped them and know that even if they are swallowed up, that they will become part of management.

Economics have not been our only problem in the GDR. There has been another question as to how to work with the people and get them to use their initiative. People are now responding and we must learn to listen to the people.

The last Leipzig Trade Fair was the best one yet held in the SUPG. Those West Germans who visited the Fair openly talked of the ostrich-like policies held by the FRG regarding the GDR in that it refuses to recognize the fact that we exist and that there is a need to participate in joint matters. All major capitalist countries participated in this Fair. However, there was much talk at Leipzig that "the United States is left out while others like Great Britain, France, and Italy sneak in." The Leipzig Fair was a real achievement. A total of 5,200 workers came to it from West Germany where last year there were only 1,200. These people are changing their minds about the GDR and you no longer hear them tell their hunger tales.

Ehrler, a Social Democratic Party (SDP) leader, is planning to go to Spain to give a series of lectures, but he refuses to come to the GDR. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Chancellor of the FRG and member of the CDU, are supporting revengism. The SDP supports the CDU on the matter of the NATO nuclear rearmaments, etc. However, we

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF HERBERT WARNKE, MEMBER OF
POLITICAL BUREAU, SUPG, ON BERLIN CRISIS
AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS AFFECTING THE
GDR

~~TOP SECRET~~

do use the tactic of differentiating between the CDU and the SDP. There are differences in these Parties.

Twice a year there is held an all-German working class conference participated in by representatives from both the GDR and the FRG. In preparation for these meetings, there is a standing committee consisting also of representatives from both Germanies. Their next meeting will be at the Leipzig Fair. In the normal process of these meetings, the West Germans open them but the GDR closes them.

In regard to the current situation in agriculture, we have no real problems. All of our farms are now collectivized. We have no worries about feeding our population. Animal husbandry has reached high levels compared to that of the past. This has been the result partially of the incentives that have been available.

A point that may be of note is the fact that we now have established our own camps for escapees from West Germany. Several hundred people per month are coming over to the GDR. Of course, we have to examine these people and then place them throughout the country where manpower needs have to be given consideration. Many of these people have been miners and, of course, many peasants come also.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(18) 100-423091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 6, 1965,

1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - EAST GERMANY
INTERNAL SECURITY - EAST GERMANY

Recently a member of the Political Bureau, Socialist Unity Party of Germany in East Germany, made the following observations concerning conditions in East Germany. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

Economic Situation in the German Democratic Republic

The economic situation in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) has improved tremendously since August, 1961. Speculation in currency has ceased and the West can no longer drain it off. The West can no longer carry out its past acts of sabotage nor can it entice GDR workers as in the past. The GDR is on the way to achieving the technical revolution which is being led by the working class building socialism. The GDR still has a combination of socialist and private enterprises. Certain private enterprises receive financial assistance if desired but any state funds so invested must be protected. Most of these capitalists engaged in private enterprises belong to petty bourgeois parties like the Liberal Party, Free Democrats or Peasant Party. They are not in any key industry, but rather in the production of consumer goods and employ, at the most, only a few hundred workers. These capitalists say they live better than their fathers. They feel they will not be driven into bankruptcy by the monopolies and, even if they are swallowed up, they know they will become part of management.

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RCP:pah
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EX-116

REC-23

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

65 MAY 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

Agricultural Situation

There are no real problems in agriculture. All farms are collectivized. There are no worries about feeding the population. Animal husbandry has reached high levels compared to that of the past. This has been a result, partially, of incentives that have been available.

All-German Working-Class Conference

Twice a year there is an all-German working-class conference participated in by representatives from the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany. A standing committee composed of representatives of both countries prepares for these meetings. The next meeting will be held at the forthcoming Leipzig Fair.

Escapees From West Germany

The GDR has now established camps for escapees from West Germany. Several hundred people come over each month. They are examined and placed where there is a need for manpower. Many of these have been miners and peasants.

Leipzig Trade Fair

The last Leipzig Trade Fair was the best one held in the GDR. All major capitalist countries participated, however, there was much talk that "the United States is left out while others like Great Britain, France and Italy sneak in." A total of 5,200 workers came to the fair from West Germany compared to only 1,200 the year before.

The above information was furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this letter has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~."

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

NOTE: Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

NOTE CONTINUED:

could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as sources in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from Chicago airtel 4/30/65 captioned, "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 6, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Rusk:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "The Berlin Crisis," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 and CGairtel 4/30/65, both captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

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100-428091

WGS:pah

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MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

65 MAY 12 1965

REC'D - READING ROOM
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MAY 6 12 15 PM '65
100-428091-4774
WGS
18 MAY 7 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 6, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "The Berlin Crisis," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 and CGairtel 4/30/65, both captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

65 MAY 17 1965

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5/17/65

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5-16-65
Muller
5/17/65

CVS
JH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach

DATE: May 5, 1965

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Shaw

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While on his recent Solo mission abroad, CG 5824-S* had occasion to discuss the recent Berlin crisis with representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Communist Party of East Germany) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As a result, CG 5824-S* obtained the following information relating to the recent Berlin crisis.

According to a leading representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the West German Government deliberately provoked the recent crisis in Berlin by scheduling a meeting of its Bundestag in West Berlin, where there had not been such a meeting for years. This action was an effort on the part of the West German Government to recapture prestige lost when top officials of the East German Government visited Egypt. The East German Government interfered with the Western traffic in the land and air corridors of East Germany because the West German Government was utilizing these corridors in violation of the current treaties which provide that such use applies only to troop movements. The resulting crisis was utilized by the United States as a means of diverting attention from the Vietnam situation.

According to officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, informal charges placed against the Soviet Union that it was not doing enough to help the North Vietnam Government, prompted the Soviets to take a more aggressive posture in order to demonstrate that it considers the security of the communist countries on its Western border as being of the highest importance. This is the explanation for the demonstration of solidarity shown by the Soviet Union with the East German Government at the time the West German Government scheduled a meeting of its Bundestag in West Berlin. This demonstration of solidarity involved the harrassment of Western traffic in the land and air corridors to West Berlin as well as the display of Soviet air power. In return for this show of solidarity, the Soviets expect to receive an understanding from

100-428091

Enclosures *sent*

WGS:pah
(8)

110 REC-10
CONTINUED--OVER

100-451011-4775

18 MAY 10 1965

INA

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: SOLO
100-428091

the East German Government of the problems the Soviets are experiencing with the Chinese in the Soviets' efforts to aid the North Vietnam Government. The Soviet Union will continue this tough attitude in relation to all incidents affecting other communist countries.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letters be sent to the White House, Secretary of State, Director of Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General incorporating the information obtained by CG 5824-S*.

W.C.S.
CDB

W.C.S.
Q

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D

~~D~~

White House letter
b6
b7C
5/6/65.
8/1/67

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 4/29/65, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through the secondary channel - ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN - several partially coded messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

1. "The following is the report of GUS HALL given at the CPUSA National Committee Plenum on the night of April 23rd. This report is now handed to other leading Party officials for their reading as a guide; therefore, the title is deliberately 'misleading'----- This plenum had to use such a 'name' so that the FBI, etc., would not use this as a Party meeting, etc. ----- In other words for legal reasons do we use such a title.

"Also: So that you not lose time, I hand to you everything at once. This is another installment --- In the next few days there will be more important material.

"Jack Brooks

- EX 110
- 3 - BUREAU (Encl. 2) (RM)
 - 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (Encl. 1) (AM RM)
 - 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 - 1 - NY 105-14931 (NIKOLAI-TALANOV) (341)
 - 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
 (8)

18 MAY 10 1965

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 12 1965

NY 100-134637

"As you know, this is for your Central Committee's reading - in time, when edited, GUS HALL intends to put this in pamphlet form. We will tell you when."

The above refers to the report of GUS HALL at the April 23, 1965, meeting of the CPUSA National Committee. Photographic copies of the said report are attached hereto for the Bureau and Chicago. It will be noted that the Bureau has been previously advised of this report in NY airtel and LHM dated 4/27/65, and captioned, "CPUSA, ORGANIZATION; IS-C."

2. "CCCPSU

"Some weeks ago we sent you a message through this closed channel about a group of leading trade unionists headed by LEON DAVIS of the Retail Drug Employees Union, Local 1199, office address 300 West 45th Street, New York City. He, as we told you, will head a group of such trade union officials to the USSR on the occasion of May 1st. They, as we told you, were to pay their own fares there and return. The only request made by us was that, once in Moscow, that your trade union institutions take them over, and show the factories and cities of the USSR. LEON DAVIS is a most important trade union leader (progressive and honest and a friend of the USSR). These trade unionists and LEON DAVIS have been waiting for word from your consular or trade union institutions these last few days with their baggage packed and not a word has come in in answer to our message. Please - have your representative get in touch with DAVIS directly either at his office - Local 1199, 300 West 45th Street, New York City, or at his home, 75-43 187th Street, Flushing, Queens, New York City. Hurry please so that he can get to Moscow before May 1st --- Please!

"Gus Hall"

For information re above, see NY airtel, 2/5/65, pages 3 and 4.

3. "CCCPSU

"Marvin Sharpe of the publication 'Soviet Documents' is

NY 100-134637

"going to give up that publication in 10 days. I have told you of this before --- Can you tell him that we can take over this publication and double its circulation almost at once and soon after that increase its circulation substantially. He owes our print shop over \$3,000. This must be paid by him or some settlement be made. We know that we can make a successful publication out of this once he turns this over to us. Time is of importance. Please contact him at once, and also let me know what your verdict will be in taking over 'Soviet Documents.'

"GUS HALL"

For background information re above, see NY airtel, 3/18/65, pages 5 and 6.

100-423011-4776

Unedited Copy

Report by Guy Noll to Legislative Conference,
New York City, April, 1965.

Unedited "907"

Comrades:

The concern, the fears of the world are all focussed on Viet Nam. There is a growing alarm that in today's world of nuclear weapons and rockets, Viet Nam is a nuclear time-bomb ticking away in everyone's own back yard.

The world is on the rails of its most serious danger. And the escalation continues. It is now clear that the policy of escalation is going to include the commitment of U.S. ground forces. Within the last days the Administration has decided to commit 250,000 U.S. ground forces. The talk about building the armed forces of South Viet Nam is a cover for the fact that U.S. troops have to be committed because the people of South Viet Nam are refusing to be killed in a war of U.S. imperialist aggression. Besides an army - aggression, the U.S. armed forces will be an army of occupation.

The escalation of U.S. military aggression in Viet Nam has put the world spotlight on U.S. imperialism. For millions, it is the first time they see the real nature of the beast.

U. S. imperialism has taken our country onto a path that can lead only to isolation and disaster. This is a path on which the lives and the well-being of our people and the interests of our Nation are sacrificed on the altar of "swinish gluttony" to a handful of big monopoly-imperialist combines.

The patriotic massive waves of protest by our countrymen against the policies of U.S. imperialism during the last days represents the hopes for a return to sanity, represents the true self-interests of our people and the Nation. This is a patriotic, people's movement to save our Nation and people from the agonies that are inevitable if the present course of aggression is continued. It is a movement to save the world from being escalated by U.S. imperialism into a nuclear cloud.

There has never been a government policy with less support from our people as is the case with this policy of aggression. There has never been a policy so out of step with popular "consensus."

In a statement canceling his lecture tour of U.S. colleges because of his opposition to U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, Jean Paul Sartre stated: "Today it is a question of a clear act of aggression, cynically and characteristically embarked on without justification or even a serious alibi." And so he concluded, "Why should one pay a visit to an enemy?"

We reject any idea that the people of the United States is an enemy of the world, and we reject Mr. Sartre's pessimistic conclusions about our ability to force a change in this policy.

But what should be of serious concern to every American is the undeniable truth that Sartre was expressing a conviction that is taking deep roots in the minds of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. The conviction is growing that the U.S.A. is an outlaw amongst the civilized nations of the world.

The image that is taking root is that of an ugly, brutal monster driven to desperation because its plans of aggression have come up against the solid wall of human resistance. The image of an irresponsible outlaw that cynically speaks of peace even while its squadrons of bombers are in the air, loaded with fire-bombs, phosphorous bombs, gas bombs and explosives of every possible nature. But an outlaw that speaks of his "right" to use nuclear weapons. A nation that speaks of peace while its troops and equipment are being unloaded for attack - and a president who speaks of "unconditional negotiations" when he pursues a policy of demanding unconditional surrender. A country whose president speaks of brotherhood and peaceful coexistence and declares in his Easter message: "If the price of victory in Viet Nam is blood and men - we are willing to pay that price."

Not only is this conviction taking world-wide mass roots, but what should be of even further concern to us Americans is that the millions are asking the obvious question, "Where do the people of the U.S.A. stand? What are they doing while

their government conducts this campaign of murder?" It is a question the people of an aggressor nation have faced throughout history.

This is a very appropriate moment for us to ponder over this question. The world is observing the 20th anniversary of the defeat of the most brutal and barbarian of all imperialist war machines -- fascism. It is over 23 years since Hitler died in his underground bunkers, but the people of the world -- including ourselves -- are still asking, "What was the responsibility of the German people for the heinous crimes that were committed in their name?" We can be sure that history is going to keep us Americans no less accountable for the crimes now being committed in our name. The historic responsibility of the German people was to stop Hitler. As Americans, our historic responsibility to stop the attacks of U.S. imperialism in Indo-China is even greater at this moment because we have some measure of democratic liberties. The mass demonstrations of these last weeks are a good beginning in giving the world our answer. This is the most hopeful development in our land.

During these recent days we are all saddened by the death and destruction brought on by the floods and tornadoes in the Midwest. The death and destruction from the floods is inexcusable. Flood-control dams could have prevented all this.

It is a case where even our best friends are not going to tell us, but we can be sure the world wonders in silence about the irony of the two events. The people of the world express sorrow for the victims of the floods and hurricanes. And they must wonder. These are victims of the destruction of uncontrolled nature. But the mass murder, the obliteration of whole land areas in Viet Nam are man-made. The weapons of mass murder are made in the U.S.A. and dropped by their fellow men.

Maybe it would help if the Administration in Washington was forced to tour the areas of their own destruction, the desolation of a man-made hurricane. Maybe if they were made to view the dead remains of tens of thousands of men, women and children, forced to view the areas of complete ruin, the defoliated fields, the desolation of spots where peaceful villages once stood -- maybe this would help bring back sanity. But most likely not -- because we know from experience that the greed, bigotry and jingoism of capitalism is blind and immune to human suffering. It is immune to human suffering at home. The destruction and murder by the uncontrolled elements of nature is blind, it is accidental. But the murder and destruction by man is planned. It is the evil result of a system that is based on personal greed, on the savage drive for private profits. The hurricanes of imperialism are criminal acts. They are acts of coldblooded mass murder. The hurricanes of imperialism are symbols of the degeneracy, the immorality, the fiendishness of capitalism in its decaying state.

Man must continue his efforts in becoming the master of nature, especially to master its destructive elements. But this can have real meaning only if man can control the destructive elements of man.

U.S. Imperialism

This spotlight has not only exposed the ugliness of U.S. imperialism to millions around the world. It has likewise aroused new awareness of its basic nature in the minds of millions of our own countrymen. Thus there is a new, growing conscious anti-imperialist sentiment in our country. The mass actions of protest have shown a deep understanding of the nature of imperialism. Now, broad masses are better able to see the contradiction between what are the national and people's interests as against the destructive policies of imperialism.

This development is overcoming a historic problem. An old roadblock on the path of ideological clarity is being removed. This roadblock had very old roots. The writers of American history, the apologists and propagandists for U.S. imperialism have carefully and unscrupulously exploited for their own ends the anti-colonialism and the general democratic features of our Revolution of 1776. They have abused our democratic heritage and made a virtue of hypocrisy.

Because much of U.S. imperialist expansion took place during a period when the resistance to foreign domination was on the rise, it had to develop a special craftiness of camouflage and a system of deception. It had to eliminate some of the

open and more direct methods of colonial oppression. U.S. imperialism is the architect of the policy of imperialist aggression under the slogan of anti-imperialism. This disguise has helped to create illusions and confusion. It has helped to dull the anti-imperialist sentiments of our people.

The events of this last period have now shaken great numbers of Americans out of their illusions. The events have exposed the iron fist of the imperialist slave master that was under the silken glove. For the first time to new multitudes the imperialist oppressor stands naked, divested of its screen of democratic verbiage.

This opens up a new stage in the struggle against world imperialism. But more important - it is a new phase in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, because it is not possible to return to the snake-oil and deception once the masses have seen what is behind the screen. Anti-imperialism is now a vibrant current in American life. This is going to be a growing counter-weight to the influence of monopoly-imperialist forces on the policies of our country. The crisis has produced a people with a new political majority. For many, a new sense of understanding of what is the source of the war danger.

What are some of the specifics about U.S. imperialism now being exposed in the glare of the world's spotlight?

The people's indictment is indeed extensive. That U.S. imperialism at this period of history is the most aggressive, most war-like and most predatory of all imperialist powers.

It is the most extended salient of military and economic imperialist aggression. The advance outpost of military aggression against Viet Nam now being exposed and isolated is a case in point. U.S. imperialism is the center for and the support of colonialism and the main practitioner of neo-colonialism.

It is the main beneficiary from the world's oppressive system of colonialism.

At this moment it is the single most serious obstacle to a world in peace, it is the center of war and the drive towards war.

U.S. imperialism has not relinquished war as a means of settling world problems. It has not given up war as an instrument of diplomacy. As a matter of fact, its armaments program and military alliances move in the opposite direction. For U.S. imperialism, war and the threat of nuclear war continues to be an instrument in its relations with the world, especially with the underdeveloped sector of the world. U.S. policies are not geared to a posture of national defense, they are geared to aggression. There are other powers, like West Germany, who would like to re-establish war as a means of settling problems. But for the moment, because of the world balance of forces, they do not have the military or economic capabilities for it. U.S. imperialism remains the shock troop of world imperialism. It is the economic, financial center and clearing house for world imperialism. It is a partner in every imperialist venture. It is a partner in the Belgian operations in the Congo. It has a piece of the enslaved industry of South Africa. It is the dominant imperialist force in Latin America. It is part owner and master within the home industries of every other imperialist country. It is part owner of West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium -- wherever there is capitalism, U.S. imperialism is there.

The war-like posture of aggression of U.S. imperialism rests on some very dangerous misconceptions. First, it rests on the mistaken myth that it can arrest and even throw back the processes of colonial liberation. It has not accepted the judgment of history that the era of colonialism in every form has come to an end. Secondly, it has not drawn the conclusions necessary from the present world balance of forces. But U.S. imperialism is not a free agent. This policy of aggression, if continued, will come head on with a superior force, the combined forces of anti-imperialism. How much death and destruction it will cause before it is forced to accept world realities, is what the world ponders over.

So the policies are based on myths of the past. And policies based on myths inevitably come to an ignominious end on the rocks of present-day realities.

The fundamental cause for the war-like posture of imperialism is a built-in, inherent characteristic. This inherent, built-in characteristic of imperialism will not change even when all the colonies will be free. It will continue to be on the prowl, seeking for weak spots. To its last day it will continue to seek for ways to reestablish its slave rule on the world. But, as the balance of world forces shifts, its chances of even temporary victories will diminish and in the end completely disappear.

Besides this built-in characteristic, there are also some specific developments that at this moment have an influence on the activities of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is going through a specific phase of its development. After the Second World War it expanded its operations almost at will. It is economically geared to a never-ending rounds of expansion. But in some parts of the world the pathways of expansion have become either closed or congested. The resistance by the forces of anti-imperialism and the competition from the forces of capitalism is slowly beginning to weigh on U.S. imperialism. The easy pickings has turned into a struggle. This, at a time when the unprecedented profits both from the foreign investments and the industries at home have resulted in unprecedented, huge piles of idle, unused capital. This is accumulated capital with no place to go. The pressure for imperialist expansion grows with each dollar of unused capital.

Just as an example. In 1963 General Motors assigned one billion, 200 million dollars for purposes of expansion. Year after year, how many of such appropriations can be used for domestic expansion? That is, how much can be used domestically when the sole motive for the expansion is maximum profits? This could be the real source for the billions needed to fight poverty. But unused, this is the root source of the pressures for imperialist aggression. When U.S. spokesmen speak about our national interests in other parts of the world, they are speaking about the ability of a General Motors to invest profitably its already stolen loot to get some more. For this they want corrupt puppet governments who will give them a free hand to use up the national resources, to be tax exempt, to keep the wages low, hours long. The C.I.A., The Seventh Fleet, the Alliance for Progress and Foreign Aid are the instruments of either putting into power or holding power for such puppet governments.

As a rule, the system and the details of imperialist operations are kept top secret within the confines of the imperialist family. But once in a great while some of it leaks out.

Because there was a falling out between thieves, there is a trial going on in New York. Some of the evidence is worth repeating because it is typical of all imperialist operations. It is a billion-dollar scandal, but the press is silent. The case is Iran. The case starts with a violent overthrow of a government. And it is now publicly admitted, even by such people as Eisenhower that the C.I.A. was directly the force that overthrew the Government of Mossadeq in 1953. Ike should know - he was President. The instruments were murder and corruption. And so the puppet government of the Shah was set up. Then the real purpose of the C.I.A. imperialist conquest began to unfold.

The nationalized oil resources were given to the imperialist oil monopolies. Mainly they went to the Rockefellers. Then the lobbyists of the imperialist Wall Street corporations arranged in Washington, D.C. to give the puppet setup about 50 million dollars a year of U.S. tax payer's money in the form of foreign aid. The setup was complete. U.S. tax payers' money was used to overthrow a foreign government by force and violence. Then U.S. corporations took over the riches of the country. And then U.S. tax payers' money is passed through the puppets to the same corporations who took over the country. So the imperialist corporations steal the natural resources of the enslaved nation, and then use it to further steal the U.S. tax payers' millions.

Some of these facts are coming out in this trial in New York. One set of thieves has introduced photostatic copies of checks and bank statements that prove the swindle. They show that during one week alone in 1962 - a few weeks before the imperialist masters brought the puppet Shah to Washington to ask for more millions, the following checks were passed out by the thieving setup in Iran: Mrs. Loy Henderson the wife of the U.S. Ambassador to Iran when the puppet Shah was

installed - one million dollars. - George V. Allen, the great confidante of Truman, Ike and Kennedy - one million dollars. - Sheldon Chapin, U.S. Ambassador to Iran at the time - one million dollars. - Henry Luce of Life and Time, one-half million. - Edwin Thorne, First National City Bank - one-half million. - Mr. Corradi, a secretary at the U.S. Embassy - \$150,000. - Howard Page, Standard Oil - \$300,000. Jane Pollen, Bank of America - one-half million. - George Parkhurst, Standard Oil - one-half million, etc., etc. During that week, 15 million was given to the then-wife of the puppet Shah.

There is a conspiracy of silence about this by the mass media. The McClellan Committee, the so-called investigator of corruption, has set on these facts for over two years. The Internal Revenue tax collectors have shown no interest. The conspiracy of silence takes place because all concerned know that this is not limited to Iran. This same relationship between the Federal Government's institutions, the monopoly-imperialist forces and the robbing of peoples goes on wherever U.S. imperialism has a foothold. This is standard operating procedure wherever this team of thieves operates. One can take it for granted that this same team is operating right now in the same way in Indo-China, the Congo, Latin America, and they have not given up even in countries where they have been rebuffed. The covers for the operation vary, but the aim is the same. A so-called trade union delegation from the U.S.A. "visits," but its members slip millions to corrupt some leader. In order not to create suspicion, delegations go in the name of some other nation. But the aim is the same. The C.I.A. and State Department use entertainers, sports figures, women, people with national groups backgrounds, Negro Americans, business people, and people who have a socialistic or radical background. This is all to give a cover to the dirty business of imperialist corruption - to prepare the groundwork for the penetration of U.S. corporations.

U.S. imperialism has the greatest facilities, the largest staff, the mightiest armed forces at its disposal of any imperialist power in history. But it is not big enough. It is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history. It is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.

And finally, let us turn our attention to another specific factor that has entered into the calculations of U.S. imperialist escalation of its war against Viet Nam. It is the division in the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces in general and specifically the division between the countries of socialism. The policy and practice of U.S. imperialism is geared to take advantage of any divisions or weaknesses resulting from wrong policies within the socialist camp.

The program of escalation is partly geared to the C.I.A. estimate of the depth of the division within the ranks of anti-imperialism.

The cleavage between China and India, the conflict between India and Pakistan are weighed in these calculations. The division between China and the rest of the socialist camp is a very big factor on the scales. The days and weeks lost in trying to get passage for the military equipment through China may have been the most crucial days of this conflict. This was all placed on the scales of the escalation.

And even more important -- one cannot help but wonder: how is it explainable that these modern weapons of defense were not in North Vietnam long before the escalation started? Is this not explained by the influence of wrong theories and policies within the socialist camp? And here allow me to express a personal thought -- Is it not explained by a refusal to join the collective socialist system of defense? It is reasonable to assume that if the split had not taken place, there would have been a joint plan and preparations for the defense of all socialist countries long before this.

Is it not the result of theories such as, "Not weapons, but people is the ingredient of defense?" Concepts like, "Each socialist nation must rely only on its own resources?" Has not the influence of narrow nationalism in some quarters prevented the socialist camp from pooling its resources in a comprehensive plan and the preparation for a collective defense?

Would not these theories lead to an atmosphere of unpreparedness in relation to modern weaponry? Frankly, how could it be otherwise? I know some will say we should not be critical - because it is U.S. imperialism that is attacking. But besides being Americans, we are Communists. It seems to me the Communist world will have to draw some long-range basic lessons from this crisis.

Whatever the specific reason, it is a fact of life that because of the division, U.S. imperialism has been able to escalate the war without meeting the united resistance of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This is a serious setback.

However, this is also an area where imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact this new unity is being welded now.

So to conclude on this point. It should be clear that we have a new stage opening up in the struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism. There are new dangers. But the main thing that stands out is the new upsurge, the new people's movement to save the United States from its present path of no return.

For us, the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence now sharply shifts to the struggle against the acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam. A victory over these policies will be a victory for the policies of peaceful coexistence.

The struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism has escalated to a new level. We must sense the new mass base that has emerged for this struggle. We can now bring the essence, the understanding of anti-imperialism into the mass movements, into the trade unions, civil rights movement, and especially into the peace movements.

This calls for the organization of centers of anti-imperialist propaganda and education. Our literature and speeches must reflect this new stage of struggle. This also means that the initiating role of the Party must be reflected in correct terms. And this requires that the Party itself must have directing committees for its anti-imperialist activities. Anti-imperialism can now begin to take its place with the other mass currents for civil rights, democracy and peace.

This does not mean that all of the peace forces are now consciously anti-imperialist. It is, however, the new and growing feature. And even those who do not fully understand the imperialist nature of the aggression, take part in the protest actions because they are convinced U.S. actions in South Viet Nam are wrong and unjust. This is also a step forward.

The protest movement will continue to grow if all of the forces on all levels of understanding remain united in their actions. This was not stressed enough by all of the people in the leadership of the April 17 march in Washington action. And as the struggle develops, increasing numbers will accept the conscious anti-imperialist position.

Role of the State

I have deliberately separated dealing with the activities of U.S. imperialism in general from an examination of the evolution of the Johnson Administration or the differences within the ranks of imperialism. It is correct to make an appraisal of this Administration, or any other U.S. government administration, within the framework of U.S. imperialism. But would be a mistake to deal with them as if they were one and the same thing. This is a mistake that is made very often. This error weakens the struggle against imperialism. The roots and the source of imperialism is not the governmental structure. The roots are in monopoly capitalism. The policies of imperialism in the first place are policies of monopoly corporations who are in the business of foreign investments.

There are important forces within the ranks of monopoly capitalism who are against the present policies of aggression in Viet Nam, but they want to cover up the roots of imperialism. We must expose the roots, the class, the monopoly base

of imperialism, and in that context, the role of an administration as the instrument and servant of these imperialist forces.

Once these class roots become exposed, then the struggle against imperialism will be on a more solid foundation. This weakness is one of the explanations for the lack of understanding and opposition to U.S. imperialism in the past. Because the governmental and military arm of U.S. imperialism has not always been used, masses have been led to believe that the United States was not an imperialist country.

State-monopoly capitalism and imperialism are interwinding features of present-day U.S. capitalism. At the very top, however, of the state monopoly complex, its forces and the forces of imperialism become not only interwoven but actually become one state-monopoly-imperialist kingdom. The understanding of this link makes it possible to give the anti-monopoly movement also an anti-imperialist content. Increasingly this state-monopoly governmental structure is molded structurally and personnel-wise to serve this state-monopoly-imperialist complex.

Along with the growth of U.S. imperialism there has developed a government structure of departments and bureaus which are set up only to serve the private imperialist ventures. Typical of these is the C.I.A. - it has no other purpose. The Pentagon is molded and manned to serve this purpose. When there are no problems of national defense, the military units set up only for this purpose - are beefed up like the Seventh Fleet, the Marine Corps., etc. There are federal banks and government financial institutions set up for this purpose. They use U.S. tax payers' dollars to guarantee the property and profits of these swindlers. The foreign-aid setup is largely to service the imperialist ventures. Most government contracts and subsidies serve this purpose as well. This is the main purpose of the National Security Council. It should be called by its right name "U.S. Imperialist Security Council." The governmental structure has a system of departments of imperialism.

It is now an accepted practice by each succeeding administration that these special departments of imperialism within the Federal government are headed and staffed by direct representatives of the corporations for whose imperialist operations they are going to use their governmental authority. The heads of these departments of imperialism are in closer touch with these private imperialist combines than they are with the government. They are as a rule appointed and so there is no public control over them. Where there are no departments, these spokesmen are special presidential advisers, such as McGeorge Bundy. It is the heads of these special departments and the special Presidential advisers who make up the illegal invisible government. The invisible government is the imperialist government. It is that section of the government most directly controlled by the imperialist corporations. This is also the section of the U.S. government that has grown the fastest.

This understanding is very important as a background for understanding the role of the Johnson Administration. Because at the moment, what is the central reality that stands out about the Johnson Administration? It is this -- that the most war-like aggressive forces of the "invisible government", the heads of the departments established specifically to serve imperialism, the individuals who are the most direct representatives of the militaristic sections of monopoly-imperialism have for the moment become the dominant force in determining U.S. foreign policy. They are the dominant influence because President Johnson has elevated them to their positions of power. They are for the moment in control of the Executive power on foreign policy. These forces have had a growing influence within the past administrations. There have been other times when they have momentarily been the dominant influence. But most of the time they have been balanced off by safer elements. But at this moment they call the foreign policy shots. This, then, is the very kernel, the inner source of the aggression that endangers the peace of the world.

Yet, for all their influence on the Administration, they are on very thin ice. They are advancing and escalating a policy that is universally condemned and is not supported by the people of the U.S.A. The Johnsons, the Bundys, McNamaras and the Taylors are dangerous because they are out of contact with reality.

There are other forces within and around the Administration who do not agree with the policy of aggression. The opposition on this level is expressed by such papers as the New York Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Knight papers and others, Walter Lippmann of the Herald Tribune and about one-third of the U.S. Senators, such as Morse, Fulbright, Gruening, Mansfield, Akers, and a sizeable bloc of Congressmen. This opposition - a reflection of divisions in the ranks of U.S. capitalism - is a difference in tactics. It is important, and in fact decisive, because it coincides with the more basic anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments of our people. The present aggressive war policy is on thin ice, and it is under a growing pressure, a pressure that will keep growing. The New York Times, Fulbright, Lippmann position is the only realistic defense of U.S. capitalist and imperialist interests. The Administration policy leads to a dead end. This can only add to our confidence of turning the present tide of imperialist aggression.

However, for the moment the U.S. policy remains a demand for an unconditional surrender. It is a policy of endless escalation. After each step the return becomes that much more difficult. The U.S. is still telling the people of North Vietnam, "We are going to escalate till you surrender." In fact, it is even worse. What we are telling the Government of North Vietnam is, "We are going to bomb your cities till you join us in crushing the people's democratic liberation movement of South Vietnam. We are going to bomb until you 'police' the liberation forces of South Vietnam."

The rising demand to stop the bombing of North Vietnam is a minimum first step demand. It is the absolute minimum step that could lead to some negotiations. It is a proper demand even if there would be no negotiations. Our main task must remain: the exposure of the operations of U.S. imperialism and for the full right of self-determination for Viet Nam.

It is a law of capitalist development that a nation cannot for too long go in one direction, in foreign policy, and in another direction in domestic policy. This law, of course, works both ways. Sooner or later, the policy that dominates will drag the other with it.

This is the crux of the problem we now face. The dominant policy for the moment is the aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is beginning to cast its shadow over all other questions. There is a danger, it will drag the whole political spectrum in its wake. In fact, the warning signals of this danger are flying all over the field. It is necessary to take note of these signs.

This militaristic aggressive direction of foreign policy has given the forces of reaction - the ultra-Right - a new lease on life. They are beginning to sense they are wanted again. The polluted atmosphere in which they grow so well shows some signs of getting heavier. McCarthyism persisted, it was tolerated because it served a purpose. It served as the terror squad to frighten all opposition to imperialist policies. The atmosphere of tolerance of the Birchites, the ultra-Right, is again being cultivated.

Also, there is an escalation in the harassment by the F.B.I. This harassment is meant to terrorize the whole progressive-civil rights-peace-left spectrum. There is the increased red-baiting attack on the civil rights organizations. The senile attack by Truman on Rev. King fits into this heightened attack. Truman was echoing the slanders of J. Edgar Hoover. There is a new element in the red-baiting attacks against SNCC, SDS, the DuBois Clubs and the Southern Conference Educational Fund and others.

What is new here is that the attacks are being inspired and directed by forces high within the Johnson Administration. Another straw in the wind, a usual barometer of the weather, is the increased silence by the liberals about these attacks. In fact, there is some increase of red-baiting in their own ranks. This may be just temporary, but it is there. One cannot overlook the violent and arbitrary manner in which the Administration has treated the Congressmen and Senators who oppose the present policy. One would think they are appointees of the President instead of elected officials.

There are also some other signs. The rails for legislative backsliding have been greased. The Medicare Bill was passed, but not before some very serious deletions took place. The anti-poverty program remains on the level of pilot projects. And even these pilot projects are passed to be of relief as if there is some temporary economic ill. The legislative backsliders are hard at work to keep this program on the pilot project level. More and more the argument is heard - the best solution for the unemployed youth is to increase the military draft. The farm subsidies have been cut without any plans of help to the farmers in place of the cut subsidies.

So far there are no administration moves towards the elimination of LBS or to raise the coverage or the amount of the minimum wage. Social legislation can become the first victim of escalation.

Instead of a struggle for social legislation, there is a barrage of words about a "consensus." The "consensus" policy, as applied by the Johnson Administration, fundamentally is nothing more than an attempt to pressure the majority to support unpopular policies which are against their best self-interests. When the policies are in the narrow interests of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, there can be no consensus of support from 50 percent of our people. There can be no democratic "consensus" in support of the war in Viet Nam. If the policies are in keeping with the self-interests of the people, and thereby also of the Nation, monopoly capitalism will not willingly join such a consensus of support. They will not join a "consensus" in support of civil rights or a real war on poverty. Where monopoly capitalism is a willing "consensus" partner, it must be a policy favoring them. The contradiction between the interests of monopoly groups and the interests of our people and nation is irreconcilable. The "consensus" talk is the grease for the rails of the legislative backsliders on social legislation. It is a part of the school of political demagoguery that says, "Promise them anything, but give them only as little as you think you can get away with."

The flags of warning also have a deeper meaning. They are symbols of the new reality that the struggle for social progress and the struggle against the policies of imperialist aggression are now enjoined. Each struggle can influence the other. A heightened mass struggle on both fronts can guarantee progress on the social-progress front and can turn the tide in the foreign policy front.

Within the context of the escalation of the war and the legislative backsliding, a special word must be said about the role of the Republicans. They are the cheering section on both fronts. One would think Dirksen is the Vice President. Who is using whom is still a question. In foreign policy the Republicans are having it both ways. Their policy is being carried out but they do not have to worry about being labeled the "war party." Johnson is nailing that down for the Democratic Party. The Republicans are cheering the escalation of the war and using the escalation as the excuse for backsliding on social legislation. With all this going their way, they are happily looking forward to the 1966 elections. The Democrats will be charged with scuttling the program of social progress because of their war program in Viet Nam.

But as has been the case with Johnson, the Republicans are also misjudging the temper and the level of understanding of the American people. The American people are beginning to demand more than a change of party labels.

At this point I want to speak about the reactions of our people. But first a few words about the reaction around the world, because this has become a big factor on the side of peace.

With the possible exception of the reaction to the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt, world public opinion has never been as unanimous in opposition to a policy since the days of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. Public opinion has prevented even a token or fig-leaf participation by any government in the operations in Viet Nam. Last week 50,000 people protested U.S. policy in London; 30,000 in Tokyo; 20,000 in Cambodia. 3,000 Canadian students had a sit-down on the steps of the U.S. Embassy.

Casot Lodge is now making his second round of "allied recruiting." But he is getting the protest reaction of the people wherever he goes. The United States has never been as isolated as it is today. The spotlight has turned into a hot seat.

Mass Movements

By far, the most significant development that should get the greater part of our attention is the escalation of the mass protest movement by our people. What I have said so far is only to be able to discuss this most important of all questions.

Within a period of a month we have witnessed two historic mass mobilizations, two responses by the people that demonstrates the new level of political understanding, a new level of militancy. This speaks for the greatness of our people, but above all it is new evidence about the new fine quality of the young generations. Because of this, one cannot but feel a deep sense of confidence that the war tide can and will be turned.

These two mobilizations have been on two very vital questions -- one on a basic issue of democracy; the other on the life-and-death question of peace. One sparked by the events in Alabama; the other by the events in Viet Nam. It is also not accidental that the most popular slogan in the mass action around Alabama was, "Bring the troops back from Viet Nam and send them to Alabama." What is very encouraging is that new sections of our people are joining in these struggles and for many it has become one struggle with two phases. Civil rights leaders are increasingly peace leaders, and peace leaders are increasingly civil rights leaders.

The struggle against U.S. imperialist policies is the newer of these two mass currents. It is a new kind of a patriotic movement. It is a patriotism motivated by the true self-interests of our Nation and people. It is fighting to return our Nation back to the path of peace, democracy and social progress. The patriotic nature of this movement is emphasized by the sharp contrast with the anti-national nature of the policies followed by the forces of imperialism. There is a growing feeling about the anti-United States character inherent in the policy of recklessly gambling with the lives and prestige of our Nation by U.S. imperialism and the Administration.

This movement of resistance to the policies of aggression has broader and deeper roots than any peace movement in our history. In assessing the level of this movement, one must keep in mind that this is a protest that of necessity has to be directed against the policies of our government alone. Even the last ban struggle was directed to many governments. A struggle against the policies of one's own government takes a much higher political and ideological understanding. It is a long way from the level of "a plaque on both your houses" level of a few years ago. The April 17th march in Washington and the Selma-to-Montgomery march were truly splendid, unforgettable historic events. They registered a new kind of commitment in the struggle for peace and democracy.

One must understand the difficulties the Washington action had to overcome. There was the problem of a lack of a national organization and coordination. They had to overcome the conspiracy of silence by the mass media. There were problems of sectarianism and inexperience. The masses had to overcome the demagoguery of the "unconditional negotiations" line of the Administration. But they overcame.

The march reflected a strong spontaneous upsurge of sentiment for peace and democracy. The broad popular wellsprings of understanding from which these mass actions originated and the partly spontaneous nature of these marches is the most important political force in this country. By and large it is the same mass currents that responded against the ultra-Right in the elections and again to the events in Alabama and now again on Viet Nam. The hundreds of "teach ins" of the last weeks, with tens of thousands of participants, is both a new method of struggle and has brought in thousands of new fighters. These "teach ins" reflected a very deep anti-imperialist understanding. It is this that got Reardon of the Times so worried. The all-night discussions revealed a surprising understanding of the basic issues involved. They reflected a new level of acceptance by students and faculty that there are other systems besides capitalism. A level that says, "If the people of any country want to try socialism, they must have that right." These "teach-ins" have taken place in many colleges where this was the first protest of any kind.

The reactions and protests by unions is of great importance. The Resolution of the UAW Executive Board, the actions by the West Coast longshore unions, Dist-

not 66, Local 1199, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the Teamsters and the editorialists in the union papers -- are all signs of a new level of activity by the trade unions for world peace.

Then there is the unprecedented number of signers of the newspaper ads. This new includes tens of thousands of names of the clergy, public figures, labor leaders and professionals. The signers of the writers' ad was unprecedented. It included almost every writer of any public notice. The newspaper ads have developed into a method of struggle because the mass media has been closed to the voices of protest. The letters-to-the-editor columns have never been so crowded with letters of protest as they are on Viet Nam.

The number of mass protest meetings -- all very successful -- has greatly increased. There has been a growth of people's committees who have called mass protest meetings in all kinds of new and smaller communities. Our Party and individual Communists have played a very commendable role in all this.

The April 17th Washington action was a dramatic demonstration that the struggle for peace has now emerged fully, with civil rights as one of the mass popular currents of struggle. This is a very significant development.

It is also of special significance that the third of these currents is also slowly rising. This is the struggle against the effects of automation in the hands of big business. Before long it too will take its place alongside the other two. At this very moment the steel workers are squaring off. These are all important battles in the total war on the disastrous effects of automation in the hands of monopoly.

The three currents together will make an all-powerful people's movement for peace, democracy and economic security. This will be the nature and the basis of the anti-monopoly coalition. This is the coalition that can and will turn the tide, that will win back our country from the control of monopoly. These are the currents our policies have been, and will continue to be related to.

Civil Rights

I want to discuss for a moment the other current -- the civil rights struggle.

During these last weeks the civil rights movement has scored some historic victories. The involvement of millions of Americans, weeks of continuous mass actions, rising to a climax in the Selma-to-Montgomery march, set the stage for a breakthrough in the right-to-register-and-vote drive. The significance of this breakthrough goes very deep. It will reverberate far and wide. This places on the order of the day a challenge to the political structure of Jim Crow. It is a direct political challenge to the instruments of terror and oppression in the South. It is a challenge to the medieval electoral system that has kept in political office the guardians of the system of discrimination and segregation. It is a direct challenge to a system of government that has kept the South as a source of power for reaction nationally. It is a challenge to a corrupt bigoted officialdom that has kept trade unions out of the southern industries. It is a challenge to the southern wage differential. The stage is set for a breakthrough against a hundred years and more of backwardness and reaction.

But, like the snake tail that Jim Crow is, you cut one off, it will tend to grow another. The breakthrough is a promise. But the law has not been passed yet. And the legislative backsliders are busy here too. The law is an important victory. But even at its best it is not going to wipe out all of the electoral inequalities applied against the Negro people. The bill will not establish universal suffrage for all. It does not abolish the poll tax. It does not prohibit the states from establishing new restrictions that could be used against Negro voters. It is not a bill that establishes the machinery to guarantee every one's voting rights as prescribed in the Constitution. It is an important step, but it is not yet the total victory in the struggle for the right to vote. The Senate went back on its word and postponed consideration. Dirksen and the Dixiecrats are hard at work loading on new loopholes.

All this reemphasizes that you cannot let up in a struggle with a political system that works on the theory of "Promise them anything, but give them as little as you can get away with."

And even the passage of a law does not guarantee victory. Our law books are full of laws that were enacted because of mass struggles but have never been implemented. A continuous struggle for the implementation of passed laws is the only road to victory. This rule applies to laws and elected officials alike. It is a rule of the class struggle in general. And this is how the class struggle takes place on the electoral front. It is the nature of the struggle for reforms under capitalism. There are no free days or coasting in this struggle. You relax for a day and it will take you a week to make up what you lost during the one day you took it easy.

In a review of a period in which the struggles have greatly sharpened and political positions and relations have been battered by violent storms, it is necessary to examine some of our policy moodings. It is necessary to see if we have not permitted either too much slack or not enough on one or another mooring and thereby developed one-sidedness. I do not think the problem or the danger is that we have lost our moorings altogether, although in a political struggle that also is not impossible. We need this glance at policy for our work now -- and we need it as a general guide for the convention preparations. We need it because we are under constant pressure on some policy fronts. The pressure is for one-sidedness.

On the struggle for peaceful coexistence I have already indicated a direction. For us the task at this moment in the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence is to turn back the tide of U.S. imperialist aggression. A struggle to save our country from its present course, as Lippmann said, that leads to "icy escalation." In fact, this is the central front in the struggle for these policies for the world Communist movement. The very essence of the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence is the struggle against imperialism. This is its purpose. Struggle does not change a policy. It verifies it.

This is so because estimates and policies do not change because there is sharpened struggle. The estimates on which policy is based were not of neutral forces placidly growing or declining. The estimates are based on the effect of struggle on these forces.

The second of these policy questions that comes up for airing is: Is our estimate of the balance of world forces and the concept of the new epoch still valid? And there are the two derivative conclusions from this central assumption, namely, because of the balance of forces, world wars and wars of conquest are not inevitable and because of that shifting balance, the possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism for some countries will increase. So the question is: Are these estimates and conclusions still valid?

There is nothing in the sharpened struggles that has in any way placed these concepts in question. It is true, the balance of forces is at this time again going through one of its severe tests. The test is whether the forces of anti-imperialism and peace the world over can turn back the tide of imperialism and war. That there are these tests is proof itself of the existence of the new relationship of forces. In this test as well, I am confident imperialism will be forced to retreat.

I want to keep returning to the element of struggle in our calculations because I think this is one of the moorings where there has been some slack. We have not always made it clear - the balance of forces we are talking about is a balance of forces in struggle -- forces in ideological, political and, if necessary, non-peaceful combat. The tipping of the scales in the world balance of forces takes place as a result of struggle. From this follows the conclusion that world wars, wars of imperialist conquest are not inevitable, because the strengthened forces of peace and anti-imperialism are in struggle against imperialism. It is the struggle and not some abstract force in reserve that raises the possibility of stopping these wars. The estimate is of the possible strength of these forces in struggle.

The same yardstick applies to the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism. That it is possible is being proven by a number of the newly liberated countries. Some of these countries are now picking their way through the mine fields of this transition. But again - it is possible when there is struggle. And struggle means organization, mobilization and movement with a conscious development of perspective.

In this general area there is one other loose end we should tidy up. We must give greater emphasis to the concept that the tipping of the scales is a historic process. It is not a steady smooth ride. There are setbacks, slow-downs, turn-offs and even puzzling detours.

For example, the divisions in the ranks of the socialist countries and the world Marxist movement has had, I believe, a slowing-down effect on some of the processes within this historic period of revolutionary transition. In some cases it has given imperialism more room for maneuvering and in some cases, also temporarily, the initiative. In some cases it has slowed down the processes of the new independent nations moving from independence to socialism. It has confused and misled and weakened some of the forces who are fighting for independence. It has caused some lowering of the fighting ability of the forces of socialism. It has prevented the socialist forces from placing their united weight on the scales of progress.

So, while this division has not basically changed the balance of world forces, it has temporarily slowed down some of the processes of this shift.

The policy question that pops up more often than any other is - in view of the direction of the Johnson Administration, what about the Communist election policy?

First, let me inject a side thought here. If, on the basis of new experiences and changes in the situation, we are ever convinced that our policies were wrong, we must be ready to say so publicly. It is not a crime to make a mistake. Not to correct it, is.

Before writing the article in April *Political Affairs* defending our policy, I reviewed our electoral tactics in all its aspects. The conclusion is that our policy was correct, even from the viewpoint of hindsight. I would like you to consider the essence of the article as a part of this report.

In discussing questions of policy or line of tactics, one comes up against the same problem -- that tactics is struggle. They cannot be considered in any other way. What we are reviewing is a tactical line of struggle, for a specific moment, with a specific set of circumstances, a specific relationship of forces, each with a specific direction, not as they are now, but as they were then.

We Marxists start from the premise that all history since primitive times has been and is a history of class struggle. Our tactical line is to influence this struggle. Not to invent a struggle, but to influence a struggle -- that is a part of life and a law in the development of society.

Our critics say, "You worked to defeat the ultra-Right candidates. So they were defeated. Do you think those who were elected will do anything? It is an interesting fact -- most of our critics do not say a better alternative road was open within the realities of 1964. Somehow they seem to blame the Communists for not providing that alternative, for not creating a meaningful alternative. Because struggle is the keystone of our tactics, we worked out a policy of electoral struggles that was realistic. This tactic was to direct the sharp end of our attack against the ultra-Right. And we must emphasize over and over again: tactics involves people, struggle involves people. Correct tactics is always related to concrete struggles around specific issues with specific people, people who are ready to take some level of action, but are not ready to completely break with the past. Within the context of the challenge by the ultra-Right, a combination of the most reactionary, the fascists, the Dixiecrats, Birchites, K.K.K. and other fanatical groups, our electoral policy was correct.

And so, to the question, "What did you gain?", we ask, "Is it easier, are the possibilities of organizing struggles better because the ultra-Right was defeated? Are the reactionary forces in the country weaker or stronger? Did the masses learn anything? Did they gain confidence? And again, are they stronger in the struggles of today because of their experiences? A meaningful alternative must have meaning in relation to masses, to struggles.

It is our conviction that within the realities of 1964 there were no more meaningful alternatives available. Our policy was a policy of struggle within the limits of these realities. Since the elections, the unprecedented mass actions on civil rights, on Viet Nam is proof that the masses who rallied to defeat the ultra-Right have continued the struggles. They are demanding that Johnson carry out the promises of his election speeches. Would all this be better if the most reactionary candidates had swept the land?

The electoral tactical line was not anchored on a reliance on Johnson and Humphrey. They are as much representatives of U.S. imperialism as is Goldwater. The reliance was on the masses who voted for the Democrats as an alternative to the open reactionary war-now stance of Goldwater. The reliance was on the outlook that these masses would continue the struggle after the elections.

All tactics must start and reflect how the masses see their self-interests. Our electoral tactic reflected how the important sections of labor, the Negro Americans, and the different mass currents saw their self-interests within the 1964 elections.

In the application of this correct policy, the weaknesses that did appear mainly were in the direction of not giving enough attention to the weaknesses and wrong policies of the Johnson Administration while still directing the main fire at the ultra-Right. This would not have weakened the struggle, and it would have better prepared the masses for the struggles after the elections. But even here, it is necessary to restate, the real damage was caused by the wrong policy of abstractly discussing and dreaming of a meaningful alternative when it was not in the cards. This line of tactics led to hopelessness and isolation during the elections and to pessimism and inactivity after the elections. This dilemma led even some well-meaning people on the left to a sense of dead-end frustration. This tactical line would not have prepared the masses for a struggle against the war policies of the Johnson Administration. It would have led to the inaction of the fatalistic, it is inevitable.

That some had wrong policies does not excuse us for our mistakes, but it does put them into proper perspective.

When struggle is the keystone of a tactic, then one never relies on the promises of a politician. How he will likely respond to mass struggles becomes one of the factors that must be weighed.

Within this correct policy, there can be and there were weaknesses. We must always keep probing for better alternatives, for higher forms of electoral struggle. And here we must say in all candor -- this is a mooring that has some slack. We do not always fight for meaningful alternatives. We tend to accept

things as they come. We do not take the initiative for the formation of independent, left or progressive electoral formations. We are satisfied with a few discussions with some individuals about such alternatives. We go through the forms. There can be no question. If there had been timely initiative, and a struggle, it would have been possible to have some more meaningful alternatives for some of the lower offices.

One of the best tests to see if there is real conviction for a policy is to see if there are any signs of resourcefulness in carrying it out. In all honesty we must admit resourcefulness is not one of the factors that characterizes much of our electoral work.

1966 Elections

But now is the time to set in motion the processes that will correct these weaknesses for the 1965 and '66 elections. The possibilities of raising the electoral activities of the masses have greatly increased. The waves of political turbulence set off by the events in Viet Nam and Alabama have shaken the structure and the roots of our political institutions. These mass currents are reaching the level where they can become the dominant influence in our political life. Reston of the "Times" again expresses this concern, "...and for officials here not to take it seriously enough to counter the revolt could be irresponsible." What Reston has in mind I suppose is to counter it with more of the "unconditional negotiations" demagoguery. The only way to counter it is with some honest steps toward peace, although the report this morning indicates - the Cabinet met for a special emergency meeting working out ways to combat the resistance to its policies.

How this new level of mass struggles is going to find its expression in the electoral field is increasingly becoming a burning question. There are some very strong pressures for answers. What is the nature of this pressure? There is a growing disenchantment and a deep dissatisfaction with the idea of politically being represented through someone or through some other electoral organization.

There is a growing feeling that politicians of today are like quick silver. They are like slippery eels when it comes to relations with mass movements. There is a growing demand for a new kind of a politician, for a new kind of a public official, a new kind of a candidate. The candidate who is an outside friend is losing favor. The growing demand is for candidates who are a part of the movement, who are directly committed. Some of the candidates in the coming elections in the State of Georgia are this new type of candidate. They are running on the Democratic ticket, but some of them are identified with the civil rights movement. There is a growing dissatisfaction with being in a position of choosing between two candidates whom someone else has designated.

What this growing dissatisfaction indicates is a determination by these masses to get closer to the source of political power. They want to get past the old party machines. This determination, the breakthrough in the voter-registration drive, the developments around reapportionment is forcing to the surface a crisis of the party machines as we have known them. This old structure is going to crumble. This seems very clear. This is an area that needs probing and sifting out by us.

The level of mass struggles calls for new forms of electoral activities. It needs new independent forms. It needs forms with grass roots participation. It needs forms that take the masses in these activities closer to the source of political power. This level calls for a people's political action and legislative type of organizations. The crisis is not so much about the two-party voting form, as it is with the power of nomination and the role of the parties in everyday struggles. They want more than word leaders, or just being consulted on election day.

Let me discuss one specific type of a problem as an illustration of these new problems. In the presidential elections, a number of rather liberal and progressive Congressmen were swept into office. Many of them have fought very well, so well that the ultra-Right organizations are now aiming to defeat them next year. This is the ultra-Right concentration policy for 1966. They are building electoral organizations within these concentration Districts. If these Congressmen are going to rely only on the Democratic Party organizations, many of them are defeated now. Most of the Democratic Party organizations are not geared politically or organizationally to carry on a fight that will involve the mass issues of today.

So I want to make a very concrete proposal. That an immediate survey be made of these areas. Then pick the districts, assign forces and set into motion the building of some kind of Congressional District people's political action type of organizations in each of these districts. Besides these Congressional Districts, other districts should be given special attention where it is possible to elect Labor, Negro, Peace and Youth candidates, and then do the same thing. Each state should now plan ahead for at least one youth election campaign for a youth candidate.

In this work, I am for continued discussions with other leaders. I am for doing out very best to draw them in. But I am also for us getting out of our painted corners and working with whatever forces are available and willing - instead of using the excuse of looking for "broader forces" to do nothing.

One other word about the forms of independent political activities. Flexibility in form is a tradition in American politics. It's a good tradition. What works in one place may not work in another. For example, I don't think the Freedom Democratic Party which has done such heroic work in Mississippi is a form that is applicable to all parts of the country. In the South it is a form challenging the Democratic Party machine without falling into the clutches of the GOP. The relationship and the problems are not the same in other sections of the country. Each form must reflect the specific developments and the forces in it. I am not raising any question of the need to organize a new party. That is not the nature of the mass pressure at this moment. The pressure is for independent forms and independent candidates, still within the old voting structure.

These are all very important questions. But what should bother us more than anything else is the need for much sounder and more resourceful and bolder Communist initiative all along this electoral front. This is our most serious shortcoming. On this, we cannot delay.

We have this new level of mass activity - both currents are fighting the battle on the political level. The marches are to Washington, to Montgomery.

We have the battle of reapportionment - a battle for a very basic shift in the electoral base for a structural change - a struggle that may be partly lost because there is no mass reaction. It has become a football in New York, Illinois, Ohio and other states, but not a mass issue. We have the tax problem that is getting beyond belief. New York City is now going to pay a 5 percent sales tax.

We have the pressures for new forms of independent activity I have discussed.

We have the issue of raising the minimum wage - and there is 14 5.

Where is the Party initiative in this field of struggle?

Would it not be possible to have people's legislative conferences around these issues - as broad as possible - but conferences? Is it not possible that from such conferences, forms of independent activities would emerge?

I think there is a need for such conferences even if initially it only involves the left. This is at times the only way the Left can put into practice its initiating role. But if the approach is right, the Left will be a part of much wider legislative movements.

In this front - as well as on all fronts of struggle - it is my belief that our leadership tends to suffer in the first place from the influence of conservatism.

Left Unity

For some time now our Party has taken the initiative in promoting united left action. We are going to continue our efforts in this direction. We are going to continue to promote left unity because it is a necessary weapon against reaction.

However, in the further interest of Left unity there are some problems within the left movement itself that we have to air out. This includes some wrong tendencies, some one-sidedness within our own ranks.

There is one school of thought on the Left that seems to persist that argues: there is no Left in the American scene, that it has disintegrated into a splintered, irretrievable mass. And they have self-appointed themselves to create a new Left. The latest issue of the theoretical voice of this school editorially declares, "What remains of radicalism in this country is only a rhetorical posture: radicalism has firm roots in no party, no movement, no class, and has no continuing and influential body of ideas and experience. To state this is not to despair, but to clear away the inhibiting decay of an ambiguous heritage so that we can begin to work."

This follows other editorials that have washed away the "Left." These attacks are ill-considered and harmful. Their aim is to create hopelessness and pessimism. They do not reflect a Left influence. They reflect the influence of the Right.

Such nonsense can only come from ivory tower snobs who are dreaming of coming down from the mountain of wisdom to set up a nice, clean, neat, perfectly groomed radical left. The editorial quotes another article in the same issue that speaks of the mainstream of the trade union movement as "a sewer." So one can assume the new radical left will not be built in a "sewer." So where will it be built?

The true nature of the new, neat, radical left was not long in coming. The editors met in a conference with some others. They agreed to start building this new "radical left" movement. The conference agreed on two guiding principles. One, the new radical left should be the political shade of a liberal-socialist broad left. And, two, it would screen out known Communists. They did think it was possible to have some flexibility and permit rank-and-file Communists to join, after some justification. You can be sure this is all put, at least publicly, in the very careful verbiage of "left unity."

From this it is clear what the fuss is all about. It is not about building a united left. It is to build a detour, specially designed to mislead the youth from the path that leads to a strong Communist movement. An anti-Communist "left" is not the path to united left action. It is not a path to socialism.

We are not for taking part in any fake "left unity" or radical-left organizations whose basic aim is not the struggle against reaction but who seek to take advantage of the attacks on the Communist movement to build detours to confusion, to build a left-radical wing of anti-Communism. We are not for so-called left unity if its aim is to in any way harm, weaken or undermine the position of the Communist Party. We are for left unity if it attacks and weakens reaction.

This is the single, most serious stumbling block to united left action. It is the most serious problem of the left. That is, what attitude should a movement or an organization or an individual take to red-baiting? The question is not what attitude to take regarding the program or policies of the Communist Party. The question is not even, what attitude should an organization have about the attacks on the Communist Party. These are not the issues, because we Communists do not place them as conditions for left unity.

The heart of the problem is the red-baiting attack on the left organization itself. So the heart of the question is what should be the reaction of an organization or an individual when under a red-baiting attack? Should such left formations reject and fight back? Or should they cave in and accommodate? It is a problem any new left organization faces even before it sees the light of day. This is not a life-and-death question for us Communists, but it is just that for these left organizations. The first step of accommodation is a public confession. "I am not, we are not a Communist organization." The new uncontaminated radical Left spoke about agreed on its non-Communist vow as a basic principle of its plan, a year in advance. This vow was agreed on in a private secret meeting.

There is a deadly logic to the first step, because the attack by reaction continues. The non-Communist vow will have to be followed by an anti-Communist statement. How else can such an organization prove that it is non-Communist? Then it will have to give real physical proof by screening out known Communists. The investigation of unknown Communists will have to follow. By this time, the F.B.I. will slip in lists of suspected Communists. Then there are always some non-Communists who will object to this McCarthyism under a left-liberal cloak. They

are next on the list because they are either the unknowables of the unknown Communists or they are the "Japs." So they must go. During all this time the organization cannot take positions or participate in struggles because the Communists have similar positions and are taking part in these struggles, and thus would raise suspicions about the organization. In the end - what is left? What is left is a so-nothing, conservative organization, made up of frightened people talking in whispers about how there is no left movement, how the trade union movement is a "sewer" and how much easier their life would be if only the Communists would lay down and die. It seems to me there are some policy questions for us here also. There is and there can be a non-Communist Left. There can be a Left that does not agree with how socialism is being built across the seas. But the usefulness or the effectiveness of a red-baiting Left as a Left is very questionable.

Such is the logic of accommodation to red-baiting.

Some of the civil rights organizations have heroically rejected and fought back. Their position is clear. They will judge each participant on his or her merits. They are not in the business of anti-Communism. At the April 17th Washington action, Bob Moses, SNCC Field Secretary, made this his main point. He exposed and denounced anti-Communism. The 30,000 demonstrators gave him a tremendous ovation at this point. John Lewis last night hit out at red-baiting. The rejection of red-baiting is a growing feature of the left-progressive movement. This feature of the left movement is what is really new on the Left. There are some forces on the Left who are not happy about this. They are not happy because in this they see a vacuum closing, a vacuum created by the red-baiting, a vacuum they have moved into by their own left radical version of red-baiting. As the vacuum created by red-baiting disappears, the relations of our Party to these mass movements improves.

It is the growing rejection of red-baiting - the growing influence of the Communist movement that explains the rush to building new organizations in some quarters of the Left.

This development is presenting some new questions for us Communists also. We have the problem - on one hand there is the growing rejection of red-baiting within the mass movements. On the other hand we are still working under the conditions of severe legal restrictions. And we must not ignore either side of the question.

One of the difficulties arises from the fact that masses are not aware of the illegal restrictions and so they cannot understand why more Communists do not work publicly. There is the increasing desire by forces within these mass movements to see Communists work more openly.

I think it is true, we have not drawn the full conclusions from the new level of rejection of red-baiting by the mass movements. We have not responded by a greater public participation by known Communists. We are not walking through open doors within the mass movements. We are conditioned by the closed doors of the laws. We have not fully worked out the methods of functioning that takes into account these two questions. We are going around and using political byways when the direct routes are wide open. When greater numbers want to hear and work with Communists directly, we want to work and say it indirectly. When greater numbers want to see the Communist Party in the open, many of our comrades are still burying it. As Communists, we must never try to hide our own inadequacies, our own inability to give leadership, by over-emphasizing the weaknesses or difficulties of the Party or over-stating our isolation.

This is one of the areas of our work that needs an airing, an airing that will shake the party out of some old habits and methods. This is one of those difficulties that has become more urgent because there has been an improvement in the situation. Because of this it is pressing for a solution.

On one side there is the upsurge of the mass movements. Through their experiences of struggle, the participants have gained a new political understanding. This has resulted in a growing rejection of red-baiting. There is a growing acceptance of Communist participation as Communists within these movements. This is the improvement in the situation. But all this takes place while the Communist Party

continues to function under the restrictions of the anti-democratic laws. This creates some real problems. There are some problems of communication between the Party and the masses. It creates some problems of party building. There are problems of the Party being able to publicly express its position. There are problems that individual Communists have in their relations with non-Communists on an everyday basis. These problems have emerged more sharply because the possibilities of overcoming these difficulties have increased.

How to overcome some of these contradictions is a very important question. Whatever the solutions are, it seems to me they must take into account all sides of the question. I don't think there are any cure-alls or gimmicks. Cure-alls and gimmicks as a rule are beyond the realities of the class struggle.

For some years we have pressed for the concept of intermediate forms of organization. There has been a resistance to it. We had to do real battle to get this accepted in the field of youth work. Part of the resistance is because some do not see the need for it. It is based on an old dogmatic-sectarian approach to forms of organization.

Others resist intermediary forms of organization for reasons that come from another direction. They are not for building intermediary forms because they want an organization that would replace the Communist Party. They are concerned that under the present circumstances the Communist Party cannot play a role, cannot be built, that the Communist Party will not be able to fight its way out of the present legal or political difficulties. This is basically a defeatist, liquidationist position. It is a defeatist position that flows from the difficulties and frustrations of the period.

The correct position does not see the light of day very often because it gets suffocated between these two wrong outlooks.

I think we have to fight against both of these positions. I don't think they are based on the realities of the day on the situation of the Party. I not only think the party can fight its way out - I think it is doing just that. I agree it could do better. But I also think it can do better if there are not forces within the Party who keep saying, "We will never make it." And sometimes I get an uneasy feeling some even try to prove this point by at least not doing too much to prove the opposite.

The policy of taking the initiative in building intermediary forms is correct. We must fight for them. We must reject any and all concepts that in any way hinge on ideas that we cannot win our fight for legality, and that as a party we cannot win our fight as the leading party of our class and people. Not only can - I think we are.

There are many forms, but liquidating the Party is not one of them.

We need a new, bold, vigorous approach to building the Party. Party-building can and must again become a major feature of our work. We must ask every member, "When was the last time you tried to recruit any one? Or When was the last time you even thought of recruiting any one?" A member that does not try to recruit is a member who is not convinced of the Party's future, or is not convinced the people of the United States are going to make it. Either way, it's the same thing.

And let me conclude with a word about the Party's work during these last stormy weeks. I think we can be very proud of our Party and its contributions. The Party has shown greater initiative during this crisis than it has for many, many years.

The Party has recaptured its ability to get mass actions on the road.

We have been the initiating spark for the mass actions of this period.

Increasing numbers of our members and leaders have taken direct part in the leadership, in the planning and initiating of mass actions. One of the proofs

- 20 -

of this is in the increased red-baiting attacks.

Within the positive picture, there are weaknesses. I think there are weaknesses in the methods of mobilization. There are weaknesses in the mobilization for distribution of Party material.

But in the overall picture, the activity of the Party in this period has reached a new high.

The responsibilities of our Party are very great indeed. The world is in a most serious crisis. The United States is at another crossroads of history. Its government policies have never been so rejected by our people. The position of U.S. imperialism was never so exposed. It has never been so naked.

The patriotic movement of our people for peace is at an all-time high.

The civil rights struggle has reached a historic climax.

We are not swimming against a popular stream.

In the process of making our contribution to the struggles of our class and people, our Party will find the path to correct its own weaknesses.

It is in many ways a very historic moment. We can be a factor in deciding the direction our Nation will follow.

- End of Report -

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

May 7, 1965

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - RUSSIA

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Soviet Views on the Convening of a World Conference of All Communist Parties," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

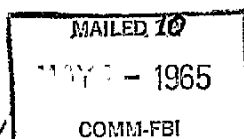
NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 4/30/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/6/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

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ENCLOSURE



EX 110

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 7, 1965

SOVIET VIEWS ON THE CONVENING OF A WORLD CONFERENCE OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES

During April, 1965, a discussion was held in Moscow, Russia, in which various officials of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, expressed their views on the convening of a world conference of all communist parties. In essence, this discussion was as follows:

Various communist parties throughout the world are now beginning to reply to the communique issued following the consultative conference of nineteen communist parties which was held in Moscow, Russia, from March 1 through March 5, 1965. At this stage approximately thirty communist parties have spoken out in favor of the position set forth in the communique calling for an end to open polemics between fraternal communist parties and resolving to work toward the convening of a world conference of all communist parties in an effort to bring unity to the international communist movement. The Communist Parties of China, Japan, Indochina, Albania and New Zealand have taken a position against the communique. However, it is significant to note that the Korean Party of Labor, the Workers Party of Vietnam and the Rumanian Workers Party, although refusing to attend the consultative conference, have not spoken out against the communique.

The question as to when a world conference of all communist parties will be held is still unresolved. However, in the very near future there will be a regional meeting of European communist parties which will take place as a result of the initiative of the Communist Party of France. In addition, there is scheduled to be held in the near future a regional meeting of communist parties of the "Arabian countries." These meetings will be beneficial in preparing for a world conference of all communist parties.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

100-428091

WGS:pah
(12)

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

(SEE NOTE PAGE 3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

SOVIET VIEWS ON THE CONVENING OF A
WORLD CONFERENCE OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES

It has been decided that after replies to the communique have been received from a majority of the eighty-one communist parties, a meeting will be held, possibly in October, 1965, in a city like Berlin, Germany, or Prague, Czechoslovakia, for the purpose of holding a preparatory meeting for a world conference.

The proposed October, 1965, meeting will be utilized to solve two basic questions. First, if the majority of the parties decide that a world conference should be held, a date for such a conference should be selected. Second, the parties should also select a drafting committee. It was proposed that the October, 1965, meeting should also be utilized to decide what other fraternal parties should be invited to attend the conference. For example, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has expressed a desire that Yugoslavia be permitted to send representatives to a world conference. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has already told Tito that it could not issue such an invitation inasmuch as the decision on such an invitation would have to be a "collective decision" of all participating parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has no illusions that the Communist Party of China will change its viewpoint or participate in a world conference. In this regard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recalled the recent statements of MAO Tse-tung, Chairman, Communist Party of China, that "we will meet with you in ten to fifteen years" and "we will unite when the imperialists attack us."

If there had been no split in the world communist movement, no one would have challenged the fact that there was need for a world conference, since it has been five years since such a conference was held. "Imperialism" has become very arrogant and aggressive as evidenced by the "military ventures" in the Congo and Vietnam. It would be wrong if the world communist movement did not try to unite its forces. Such a conference is important in order to "complete the colonial revolution" which gives the people the "real economic and political independence to prevent new forms of enslavement." A world conference is also necessary to summarize the developments of "socialist construction." In addition, there are many theoretical and tactical problems in relation to the international communist movement that must be resolved.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SOVIET VIEWS ON THE CONVENING OF A
WORLD CONFERENCE OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES

Each communist party cannot "stew in its juice" forever. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union feels it cannot ignore all of the problems of the fraternal parties despite MAO's views. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will make every effort to assist in developing unity within the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. While the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "in no great rush" for a world conference, it feels that such a conference should not be delayed for a long period of time.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. Information extracted from CGairtels 4/30/65 and 5/1/65 captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/6/65, which sets forth the dissemination given this letterhead memorandum.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (65-65405)

5/6/65

SAC, NEW YORK (65-17696)

TRACING OF AMERICAN MONEY
USED BY SOVIETS IN
ESPIONAGE OPERATIONS
ESP - R
(OO: NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS, BY ITS NATURE, SAID INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM--IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

As the Bureau is aware, on 4/17/65, NY 694-S* met his Soviet contact, NIKOLAI M. TALANOV at the Armstrong rendezvous, at which time TALANOV gave NY 694-S*, \$15,000.00, for JESSICA SMITH and the "New World Review." This money consisted of 750 \$20.00 notes.

When the above currency was broken down into Federal Reserve Districts and series, the following was disclosed:

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
(1- 100-428091) (SOLO)
(1- 100-3-63) (CP, USA FUNDS)
1 - New York (100-6393) (NEW WORLD REVIEW) (#41)
1 - New York (100-50874) (JESSICA SMITH) (#41)
1 - New York (105-14931) (TALANOV) (#341)
1 - New York (100-134637A) (SOLO) (#41)
1 - New York

GAP: egb
(9)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
191 MAY 10 1965

56 MAY 17 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-65405-1193

NY 65-17096

From the total of 750 \$20.00 notes, the Richmond Federal Reserve District was the highest with the number of notes originally issued from that F.R.D. with 510 (69.5%).

\$20.00

<u>A</u>	<u>Boston</u>
1950A	1
1950C	3
1950D	<u>6</u>
Total	10

<u>B</u>	<u>New York</u>
1934A	1
1950	5
1950A	6
1950B	3
1950C	<u>22</u>
1950D	<u>22</u>
Total	60

<u>C</u>	<u>Philadelphia</u>
1928	1
1950	1
1950B	2
1950C	<u>4</u>
Total	8

NY 65-17096

<u>D</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>
1934A	1
1950A	1
1950B	4
1950C	21
1950D	<u>3</u>
Total	30

<u>E</u>	<u>Richmond</u>
1934A	2
1950A	40
1950B	10
1950C	4
1950D	<u>34</u>
	<u>412</u>
Total	516

<u>F</u>	<u>Atlanta</u>
1950A	1
1950B	3
1950C	9
1950D	<u>5</u>
Total	18

<u>G</u>	<u>Chicago</u>
1950	1

NY 65-17096

1950B	5
1950C	3
1950D	<u>10</u>
Total	30

<u>II</u>	<u>St. Louis</u>
1950	1
1950B	2
1950C	<u>1</u>
Total	4

<u>I</u>	<u>Minneapolis</u>
1950A	1
1950B	2
1950C	<u>18</u>
Total	21

<u>J</u>	<u>Kansas City</u>
1950B	2
1950C	<u>4</u>
Total	6

<u>K</u>	<u>Dallas</u>
1950B	1
1950C	1

NY 65-17696

1950C	<u>3</u>
Total	5

<u>L</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>
1950	3
1950A	1
1950B	3
1950C	10
1950D	<u>17</u>
Total	34

When the above currency was compared against the list of money which was issued to the Soviets in New York and Washington, D.C., no identification was effected.

When this money was compared against the index of CP and Soviet bloc espionage money maintained in the captioned case, a pattern of sequence was observed with money previously recovered from the Soviets and subsequently furnished to the CP, USA, on the dates indicated.

The asterisk denotes the currency furnished to the CP, USA, on 4/17/65, by the Soviets.

\$20.00 Series 1950C

<u>Serial Number</u>	<u>Recovered By</u>	<u>Date Recovered</u>
K10760450C	CP	4/7/64

NY 65-17696

E10852124C	CP	4/7/64
E10853414C	*	
E10853418C	CP	4/7/64
E10853534C	CP	8/5/64

The notation "CP" under the caption "Received By" as set forth in above chart denotes instances when the Soviets furnished currency for use of the CP, USA, on the dates indicated.

It is to be noted that of the 750 \$20.00 notes, 518 originated from Richmond Federal Reserve District the significance of which is not known at this time.

Information concerning comparison against the index is not to be set forth in report form or dissemination memorandum without Bureau authority.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 4, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

While in the Soviet Union on Solo Mission 18 CG 5824-S* conferred in mid-April, 1965, with Boris N. Ponomarev, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the matter of Sino-Soviet relations and the Vietnam situation. Ponomarev made the following comments:

Sino-Soviet Relations

In a "closed" letter to its membership, the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, advised that the Communist Party of China was endeavoring to create a situation where it would be able to ideologically attack the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at will. The Central Committee decided not to reply to the attacks, and hopes that the Chinese will run out of material on which to base its attack.

Vietnam Situation

The Chinese have refused to permit the Soviets to fly its planes over China en route to Vietnam or to permit refueling stops in China. The Chinese have charged the Soviet Union with endeavoring to subordinate China in the Vietnam situation.

The Chinese have agreed to permit the Soviets to use its railroads for the shipment of a limited amount of armaments to North Vietnam, however, there is a great deal of delay in getting materials through by rail.

EX 110 REC-10/65-4778
The speech of United States President Lyndon B. Johnson on the Vietnam situation was an unsuccessful effort on his part to placate the opposition of the people of the United States to the war. The President's speech was not taken seriously, particularly when it was followed by bombings of North Vietnam a few hours later. There is growing resistance to the efforts of the United States in Vietnam.

RECOMMENDATION:

18 MAY 10 1965

Attached for approval are appropriate letters to the White House, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of Central Intelligence Agency and Attorney General, incorporating information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

100-428091

Enclosures

65 MAY 11 1965
6-5-65

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: May 5, 1965

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

On 5/5/65, the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek
(7)

EX 110

REC-10

100-428091-4779

18 MAY 10 1965

65 MAY 12 1965

05/05/65

04132 84242 48572 18105 43622 52123 82244 43794 04971 11973
59032 77400 44363 94891 64790 34922 55224 89224 60231 64420
43103 52188 34492 41325 11406 70406 66155

WILL BE AT MIDLAND MIDLAND MONDAY MAY #10# TWO FORTY R.M.S
HARP FOR COLOUR PRINTS SPRING

100-428091-4779
ENCLOSURE

REC-24

SI-117

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: MAY 5 1965

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow, USSR, March 1-5, 1965."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26-29/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

③-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW
(5)

18 MAY 7 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*
65 JUN 1 1965 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per *[Signature]*

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished by the source from the notes which he had taken while in attendance at the consultative meeting in Moscow, USSR, during the period 3/1-5/65. According to the source, this meeting had been scheduled to commence at 9:00 a.m. on 3/1/65 but had been delayed until 3:00 p.m. to allow the representative from the CP of Great Britain, R. PALME DUTT, to be present at the opening session. DUTT had been delayed until the last minute awaiting the final decision of the National Executive of the CP of Great Britain as to the position of that Party relative to matters to be discussed at the Moscow meeting. This session lasted only about fifteen to twenty minutes.

The second and third sessions of this meeting were held on 3/2/65 interrupted by an adjournment for lunch. The fourth session was held on the morning of 3/3/65. At its completion it was announced that all those who wished to speak had spoken and therefore no afternoon session would be held and that the Drafting Committee to prepare the document would meet on the morning of 3/4/65. It was expected that the final session would be held during the day of 3/5/65 and that the meeting would be concluded by a banquet that evening in the Kremlin. However, due to the fact that agreement was not quickly reached on the wording of the statement, and that the CP of Italy desired agreement from their Central Committee before subscribing to the statement, the final session was held after the banquet on the evening of 3/5/65 and lasted into the early morning hours. This delay prompted the sarcastic remark by some of the participants that they were all being held up because "The Italians are phoning the Vatican."

Prior to the opening of the meeting, each delegation had been furnished with a draft copy of the "confidential letter" which was proposed to be sent to the CPs which were not participants in the meeting. None of the delegations were permitted to retain a copy of this draft which was retrieved by representatives of the CP of the Soviet Union and carefully accounted for. On 2/27/65 the CP, USA delegation met with BORIS N. PONOMAREV, Secretary of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, at which time the draft was furnished to them. PONOMAREV advised at that time that their copy of the draft already contained certain changes and amendments which had been proposed by other Parties.

CG 134-46 Sub B

This draft was in the hands of each CP, USA delegate for a very limited time; however, CG 6653-S did make an effort to copy this draft but was unable to complete the task in the short time available. In view of the fact that the copy is incomplete and further that it was merely a draft which was subsequently amended, we have not included the text in a letterhead memorandum. However, for the information of the Bureau and New York, there is enclosed herewith a copy of this draft as a separate enclosure.

Relative to the status of the CP, USA delegation to this meeting and the statement in the enclosed letterhead memorandum that the CP, USA representatives were participants rather than observers, it is noted that at the meeting with PONOMAREV on 2/27/65, mentioned above, agreement was reached with the CP of the Soviet Union that in view of the strictures of the McCarran Act, all public statements relative to the CP, USA should indicate that the CP, USA was represented only by observers. Further, in view of the special position of CG 5824-S*, it would be announced that there were but three CP, USA delegates, JAMES JACKSON, GILBERT GREEN, and HYMAN LUMER. However, to preclude the slightest possibility of misunderstanding, JACKSON announced at this meeting that the CP, USA was participating in this forum and were not merely observers.

Insofar as the list of participants in this meeting is concerned, with the exception of R. PALME DUTT and CG 5824-S*, this list appeared in the Monday, March 1, 1965, issue of "Daily Review of the Soviet Press," published by Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, USSR.

As noted in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, the approved statement of the consultative meeting was released for publication in the public press. The text set forth in the letterhead memorandum is as it appeared in the 3/14/65 issue of "The Worker," p. 12, columns 1-3. CG 5824-S* did not have a copy of this statement with him but scanned the text appearing in "The Worker" and confirmed that this was a verbatim copy of the approved version to the best of his recollection. Although CG 5824-S* did not have a text of this statement to furnish, the text was included in this letterhead memorandum in order to make the memorandum logically complete.

CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
May 5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

During April, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the period March 1-5, 1965, there was held in Moscow, USSR, a "consultative meeting" of 19 Communist and Workers Parties for the purpose of laying the groundwork for an international meeting of all the Communist and Workers Parties of the world. The meeting was scheduled to hold its first session on March 1, 1965, beginning in the early morning, but in view of the fact that the representative of the Communist Party (CP) of Great Britain had not as yet arrived at that hour, the opening session was delayed until later in the day in order that the CP of Great Britain representative would be present for the opening session. Therefore, the opening session was confined to a greeting from the CP of the Soviet Union which was the host of the meeting and to certain procedural questions. The delegations of the 19 Communist and Workers Parties included the following representatives:

CP of Argentina

Rudolfo Ghioldi - member of the Central Committee

A. Ferrari - leading member of the CP of Argentina

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from~~
~~automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

100-435091-4780

ENCLOSURE

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

CP of Australia

Laurence L. Sharkey - General Secretary

L. Aarons - Vice Chairman

Brazilian CP

A. Ziller - leading member of the Brazilian CP

L. Motta - leading member of the Brazilian CP

CP of Bulgaria

Mitko Grigorov - member of the Political Bureau,
CP of Bulgaria, and Chairman
of the Commission for
Ideological and Cultural Questions

Ruben Avramov - member of the Central Committee

L. Strelkov - leading member of the CP of Bulgaria

United Party of the
Socialist Revolution of Cuba (PURS)

Raul Castro - Vice Prime Minister of Cuba and
member of the Directorate of the
PURS

Osmani Cienfuegos - government official and member
of the Directorate of PURS

S. Olivares Sanchez - Cuban Ambassador to the USSR

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

CP of Czechoslovakia

Vladimir Koucky - Secretary of the Central
Committee

Oldrich Kaderki - member of the Central Committee

CP of Finland

A. Aaltonen - leading member of the CP of Finland

J. Lehtinen - leading member of the CP of Finland

O. Poikolainen - leading member of the CP of Finland

CP of France

Raymond Guyot - member of the Political Bureau

Jean Kanapa - member of the Central Committee

Socialist Unity Party of Germany
(German Democratic Republic)

Hermann Matern - member of the Political Bureau

Hermann Axen - member of the Central Committee and
the Political Bureau; Editor-in-Chief
of "Neues Deutschland," official
organ of the Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Peter Florin - Head of the International Department
of the Central Committee

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

CP of Germany
(German Federal Republic)

Wilhelm Mohn - Secretary of the Central Committee
and member of the Political Bureau

Joseph Schleifstein - Secretary of the Central
Committee

CP of Great Britain

R. Palme Dutt - Deputy Chairman

Socialist Workers Party of Hungary

Dezsoe Nemes - member of the Political Bureau

P. Ilku - leading member of the Socialist Workers
Party of Hungary

CP of India

S. A. Dange - Chairman

S. Sardesai - leading member of the CP of India

CP of Italy

Enrico Berlinguer - member of the Political Bureau

U. Pecchioli - leading member of the CP of Italy

Giancarlo Pajetta - leading member of the CP of
Italy

L. Pintor - leading member of the CP of Italy

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Peoples Revolutionary
Party of Mongolia

Demchigin Molomzhantz - member of the Political
Bureau and First Deputy
Chairman of the Council
of Ministers

B. Lhamsuren - alternate member of the Political
Bureau

P. Shagdarsuren - leading member of the Peoples
Revolutionary Party of Mongolia

United Workers Party of Poland

Zenon Kliszko - member of the Political Bureau and
Secretary of the Central Committee

Andrezej Werblan - member of the Central Committee

Jozef Czesak - Head of the International Department
of the Central Committee

CC of the Soviet Union

Mikhail A. Suslov - Secretary of the Central Committee
and member of the Presidium

Pyotr N. Demichev - Secretary of the Central Committee

Yuri V. Andropov - Secretary of the Central Committee

Boris N. Ponomarev - Secretary of the Central
Committee

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

CP of Syria

Khaled Bagdache - General Secretary

Y. Feisal - leading member of the CP of Syria

O. Shai - leading member of the CP of Syria

CP of the United
States of America (CP, USA)

James Jackson - member of the Secretariat and Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker," official organ of the CP, USA

Hyman Lumer - member of the National Board and Editor of "Political Affairs," official theoretical journal of the CP, USA

Gilbert Green - member of the Secretariat

At the first session it was agreed that the Chairmanship of the meeting would be rotated among the delegations in turn based upon the Russian alphabet. It was also agreed that the Secretariat for the meeting would be composed of one representative from each Party and the Secretariat would be in charge of the minutes, rules, organization, safekeeping of the stenographic recording of the meeting, etc. It was announced that it was contemplated that resulting from the meeting there would be issued a communique for public publication and a confidential letter to all the Parties of the world plus a statement on Vietnam.

Second Session - March 2, 1965

Chairman - Rudolfo Ghioldi, CP of Argentina

Mikhail A. Suslov,
CP of the Soviet Union

The first speaker was Mikhail A. Suslov of the CP of the Soviet Union, who stated in essence as follows:

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Dear comrades, we are meeting at a crucial period in the world communist movement. On the whole, the international communist movement is progressing; the peoples democracies are on the march; the national liberation movement is marching forward; the newly emerging nations are getting their bearings toward socialism; in the developed capitalist countries also the working class is moving forward. At the same time imperialism, especially United States imperialism, is aggravating the world situation. During the last few months U.S. imperialism has committed open aggression in a number of countries such as Vietnam, Laos, and other places. I will take this opportunity to announce that the USSR has decided to do all possible to strengthen the defenses of the Vietnamese people.

The forces of imperialism take every opportunity to utilize the differences in the world communist movement to their own advantage. We are following a policy of peaceful coexistence but we must remember that that policy is based upon the unity of the communist movement. That has always been so in the past also.

The problem of solidarity in the world communist movement is acute at the present time. This is a cause of great concern to all of us and therefore, we must look for a basis to unite the world communist movement without relinquishing any of our principles. The focal question is whether we will make a collective effort toward the achievement of that unity or whether there will occur a split in the movement. With solidarity for a common cause our aim, we cannot stand idly by and ignore existing differences, but we absolutely reject the imposition of one Party's viewpoint upon another. Let's look at what unites us rather than what differences we have. The main thing is to correct past mistakes and start anew. This process will be accomplished step by step, not all at once.

The cause of socialism and all socialist countries must achieve solidarity in order to meet the aggressions of

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
MARCH 1-5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

imperialism despite ideological divergencies. Our main task is to unite the socialist camp, the liberation movement, and the working class against the common enemy.

The last meeting of the Warsaw Treaty nations made a major contribution not only to meeting the threat of the multi-lateral nuclear force, but also united these nations to meet aggression in all parts of the world. We have already reported to your Parties on the results of the visit to Vietnam, North Korea and China by Comrade Kosygin of the USSR. Our Party has been trying to normalize our relations with China and to surmount the difficulties which exist in the international movement. Other Parties also are taking steps to try to unite the world army of communists, an example of which was the regional meeting of Latin American Parties which took place in Havana, Cuba, during the latter part of 1964. The CP of the Soviet Union has looked for new approaches to the question of how to bring about the unity of the world communist movement and other Parties have been doing the same.

The growing differences and the sharp polemics which have resulted have caused some Parties to explore ways to regain the unity of the communist movement. As you know, not all Parties have agreed on the manner in which this can be accomplished. For example, while we proposed that 26 Parties meet in a preparatory meeting, the CP of China proposed that only 17 Parties should participate. In one way or another 64 Parties have endorsed the idea of an international meeting in order to work toward the unity of the movement. This has caused us to find new forms for this purpose such as a "consultative" meeting without a set date or place for a collective effort to enhance the unity of the movement for peace, democracy, and national liberation.

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
MOSCOW, USSR
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We believe that we can take joint steps here. We will look for a new and broader approach. We believe that all 81 Parties should take part in a consultative meeting as is set forth in the proposed text of the ~~confidential~~ letter for all the Parties of the world. This would be the most democratic form. The time between now and the next meeting can be used to improve the climate for the next meeting. The CP of the Soviet Union believes in stopping open polemics. We can settle our differences as we did in the 1957 and 1960 meetings held here in Moscow. Of course, this does not mean that we must stop discussion, but Lenin always was against name calling, slander, etc., because this undermined the authority of the working class leaders.

An essential condition for unity is noninterference in the affairs of the other Parties. The proposed letter to all Parties should not be published at least until all Parties have received it. We also propose that a public communique be issued and also a resolution concerning the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

I'm sure we all agree that old forms of unity such as the Comintern are now outworn. The new form is best exemplified in an international meeting based upon equality of all Parties. The forms change but the unity of the movement must be stronger. Such international meetings cannot be replaced by bi-lateral or multi-lateral meetings. As of now, 66 (sic) Parties favor such an international meeting.

There are many problems of the communist world which need discussion such as: 1) Problems of the socialist states; 2) The national liberation movement; 3) The role of the new states; and 4) How to unite the international communist movement. The CP of the Soviet Union does not want to exclude any one Party. We believe that we should discuss those matters which unite us. We pledge that the CP of the Soviet Union will make every effort to unite the revolutionary forces throughout the world.

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A. Aaltonen
CP of Finland

The next speaker was A. Aaltonen of the CP of Finland who stated in essence as follows:

Dear comrades, it is our earnest hope that this meeting will strengthen the solidarity of the communist movement. It is our belief that the documents issued by the 1957 and 1960 meetings continue to define the main content of our work. However, there are some new problems which have arisen. Imperialism is on the downgrade but is nevertheless aggressive. It is our collective duty to unite the forces of socialism. Although we believe that bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings are useful and the Scandinavian Parties have met in that fashion many times, we nevertheless do not believe that such meetings are a substitute for a world meeting. We should concentrate in the preparation of this meeting on those matters which will unite us. I express our Party's agreement with the line of the speech by Comrade Suslov and with the text of the proposed letter calling for a consultative conference.

Mitko Grigorov
CP of Bulgaria

The next speaker was Mitko Grigorov of the CP of Bulgaria who stated in essence as follows:

The Central Committee of the CP of Bulgaria considers this consultative meeting to be most useful in helping to overcome our differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This meeting will not be used to the detriment of any Party nor will we excommunicate anyone. In our estimation the text of the draft letter is correct. We must remember that disunity is helpful only to monopolies and reactionaries and causes factionalism within our

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ranks. We must remember that the imperialists are becoming more aggressive and are attacking new nations such as Vietnam and Cuba, and have faced us with a threat of their multi-lateral nuclear force.

Our Party is also against the danger of overestimating the place of bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings. If we want to stop the imperialist aggression, it must be done on a world-wide scale. Even if a date for such an international conference cannot be set now, we believe that we cannot postpone this conference for an indefinite time.

Do not make the mistake of believing that the danger of a split is caused by preparing for a conference; rather the danger of a split is caused by deviations from Marxism-Leninism. We realize that there is factionalism in a lot of countries. While the time may not be ripe for such a meeting, we do have to get started even if we do not force the issue. The history of the working class movement shows that such conferences are the best form for the achievement of international unity.

There has been noted a tendency toward nationalism in the statements of some Parties. We firmly believe that the splitters in these polemics should stop because they do nothing but cause bitterness and more division. We must unite in a struggle against opportunism and factionalism. Our Party desires participation in an international meeting by all Parties, 81 and more Parties.

Vladimir Koucky
CP of Czechoslovakia

The next speaker was Vladimir Koucky of the CP of Czechoslovakia who stated in essence as follows:

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We have a profound sense of satisfaction at once again meeting with our other fraternal Parties here in Moscow, although we realize that some Parties are not present. We agree that this new form of calling a meeting is desirable. Yet we can express our opinion and let the other Parties know what is our feeling. We do not feel that this meeting is in any way new or "secret," but we agree that it would be better to let the other Parties know about this meeting through a letter to them rather than to receive their information through press or radio accounts. The threats of the imperialists - the multi-lateral nuclear force and the efforts of the United States to divide the socialist countries - require our united opposition. We must consider the fact that there are differences between the Parties resulting from the fact that there are different conditions existing in these various countries, but these differences are not "absolute." There are also common interests. We thoroughly disagree with the line of the CP of China which wants to replace the common line worked out at the meeting of 1960 with a completely different line. We need complete trust among Parties and a cessation of factionalism. We view the trip by Comrade Kosygin of the USSR to Vietnam as a positive step in the line of proletarian internationalism.

We believe that open insulting polemics should stop and we should advance to the fore that which unites us. Only in this way can we meet our common enemy.

We have overcome our past weaknesses of organizational centralism and, therefore, conferences and meetings are the best form of arriving at a common program. We should approach our concrete problems in creative discussion in order to arrive at the solution to our problems and formulations of our common aims. We, therefore, appreciate the motivations and spirit of the collective meeting of the 22 fraternal Latin American Parties.

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We believe that a new 81 Party meeting should be held, even if not in haste, but nevertheless not lagging over a long period of time. The CP of Czechoslovakia offers the facilities of our city of Prague for the site of the next consultative meeting. We suggest that the agenda should include the subjects of war and peace, the national liberation movement, and the unity of the world communist movement.

We believe that the present approach is a correct one and we are in full agreement with the proposed documents, that is to say the communique, and the confidential letter to all Parties to be published after the world Parties have received it. We also agree on the desirability of issuing a document condemning U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and sending greetings to the struggling people in North and South Vietnam.

A. Ziller
Brazilian CP

The next speaker was A. Ziller of the Brazilian CP who stated in essence as follows:

I am glad that we have gathered here at last as was expected in the statement issued by the 81 Parties at the meeting in 1960. The emphasis should be upon the fact that unity is the main thing to accelerate the defeat of imperialism. Even were there no differences among any of the Parties, we would still need to meet to solve or analyze new problems which have arisen. Some have advanced the argument that such meetings should not take place because they will only serve to widen the differences. This is a poor argument against meeting, and is rather a reason for holding such a meeting. The Latin American Parties are very concerned about an international meeting. We wish that we could have had the Latin American multi-lateral meeting earlier. If we want to be critical, we can say that this type of meeting should have been called earlier.

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The Brazilian CP is going through a most difficult period. The democratic form of government in Brazil has been swept away by the coup d'etat. We are very self-critical and conscious of the mistakes that we made. We realize that our divisions, both national and international, helped the enemy. In Brazil it is our belief that an international meeting will be decisive for us. We must strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and this cannot be postponed. We agree with the proposals for the calling of the next conference and we subscribe and support the proposed documents.

Zenon Kliszko
United Workers Party of Poland

The next speaker was Zenon Kliszko of the United Workers Party of Poland who stated in essence as follows:

The United Workers Party of Poland has discussed the draft of the proposed letter with the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and with other Parties. We are in total agreement that in 1960 we all agreed to call such meetings whenever necessary. There are many pressing reasons for the holding of such an international meeting: There is a changed world situation. The United States is pursuing a policy of intervention in the affairs of other countries in order to restore colonialist regimes for their own puppets. The United States and some of its allies persistently refuse to undertake any steps whatsoever toward disarmament. The world peace is endangered as the United States constantly leads the world "to the brink."

It is essential that we work out some new attitudes more precisely in keeping with conditions in the contemporary world. The swing of many countries such as in the Arab world, Africa and Latin America is to socialism or social radicalism.

Imperialism and U.S. imperialism in particular has taken advantage of the split in the world communist movement.

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This is particularly evident in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. We greet the trip by Comrade Kosygin to Southeast Asia, China and North Korea as a positive step but this division or lack of unity remained unaltered. There has been considerable effort expended to restore this unity but no form can replace that of international meetings. It is well that the draft letter stresses the need for thorough preparations for such a meeting, a better climate to be achieved by improving relations in the interim, the cessation of polemics, etc. All these steps are interconnected.

Our Party does not share the viewpoint of the CP of China toward the subject of war and peace, nor do we share the CP of China attitude in regard to the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CP of the Soviet Union. But we know that ideological differences will take time to resolve and that life will have to prove who is wrong and who is right. We can defeat the forces of imperialism and unite because we have the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We can also rely upon the strength of the socialist camp and our alliance with the liberation movements. I am sure that all Parties are conscious of the need for unity in the international communist movement.

Mutual relations among socialist countries and Parties is vital. The CP of the Soviet Union, when they met with the representatives of the CP of China last November, tried very hard to achieve this unity. But the CP of China did not want to come to this meeting and challenged the authority of the 26 Parties to convene such a meeting. Now, of course, there are but 19 Parties at this meeting, albeit a couple of Parties attended this meeting with reservations. We believe that there are good proposals flowing from this meeting and we support the suggestion of this consultative meeting that we come together in a meeting of all Parties to promote the unity of all CPs and anti-imperialists against the forces of imperialism.

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We grant that bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings are good but they cannot accomplish all that must be accomplished. We also believe that sufficient time must be allowed to make adequate preparations for the coming consultative meeting. We propose that while polemics stop we continue discussions between Parties including theoretical debate. But, as Lenin warned, we must not let discussions harm other Parties and help the enemy. We believe that the magazine, "World Marxist Review" should be used for the theoretical discussion of differences but should not be a vehicle for slanders on other Parties. Our Party favors the adoption of a public communique and the confidential letter to all the Parties of the world. We also favor the adoption of a statement in regard to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. At first, we objected to this last point when we first saw it on the agenda, but we held discussions with the Cuban comrades who convinced us of the necessity for such a statement.

Wilhelm Mohn
CP of Germany
(German Federal Republic)

The next speaker was Wilhelm Mohn of the CP of Germany (German Federal Republic) who stated in essence as follows:

As you know our Party is underground in Germany and socialist unity and world unity of the CPs provide the protective cover for us. We have a definite need to rally the international forces of communism in alliance with all anti-imperialist forces. West German imperialism is working at a frenzied pace to expand their attacks against the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries in Europe. This they are doing with the help of U.S. imperialism. The German imperialists are also helping in the neo-colonial drive and are fighting all attempts to ease tensions in the world. The CP of Germany is fighting this mounting danger and the efforts of

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German imperialist action to lay their hands on nuclear arms. It is our belief that as a result of international solidarity of the progressive forces the government in Bonn may be compelled to retreat from their efforts to use the expiration of the Statute of Limitations on behalf of the Nazi war criminals.

We also endorse the trip by Comrade Kosygin to Vietnam as a very positive step toward peace and unity of the communist movement.

The CP of Germany agrees with the main principles of the draft letter and we assert that we must steer a clear course for unity. We realize that a great effort will be necessary. It is our belief that a split in the international communist movement is most harmful to the international working class movement and to the national liberation movement. Unity in the ranks of socialism must be worked for - it will not come by itself. We agree with the proposals of Comrade Suslov for joint steps and joint action for peace and democracy. Furthermore, we agree that an 81 Party consultative conference gives all Parties the possibility to prepare and to state their views. Even if we do not rush to hold this conference, there must be a time limit. The main thing is that the most important aim is a united effort against imperialism. The CP of Germany wishes to place itself on record that we are opposed to public polemics. We would propose that replies to the draft letter should be sent to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union.

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Chairman - Mitko Grigorov, CP of Bulgaria

Demchigin Molomzhantz,
Peoples Revolutionary Party of Mongolia

The next speaker was Demchigin Molomzhantz of the Peoples Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, who stated in essence as follows:

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The people of Mongolia condemned the U.S. imperialists' invasion of South Vietnam and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Vietnam. We express our full agreement with the efforts toward international solidarity. We must heal this breach that has occurred and cannot allow these differences to continue because they will disrupt the world movement. We favor the proposals for the letter to all Parties, the communique, and a meeting of the 81 Parties. Our fifth plenum reaffirmed our belief in the line laid down in the 1960 declaration and the line of the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union. We favor a conference to elaborate a joint line of the international communist movement and it is our belief that procrastination will only play into the hands of our enemy. The proposed letter will be addressed to all 81 Parties and should create the proper atmosphere for a new conference. We express the opposition of our Party against public polemics.

Raymond Guyot
CP of France

The next speaker was Raymond Guyot of the CP of France who stated in essence as follows:

The circumstances that necessitate this meeting should evoke the spirit of internationalism. The imperialist forces are constantly trying to split the international communist movement. The meeting and the declaration of 1960 were a challenge to this objective of imperialism. But just to be for unity is not enough; we have to frame a joint statement, a joint line, within a framework that involves all Parties in a common front.

Identity of purpose of all communists is still necessary even if each Party has its own independent tasks to solve. The documents of the 1960 conference, which were unanimously adopted, worked out the general tasks of the communist movement. This is why the present system of imperialism is crumbling.

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The main contradiction in the world is not between "rich and poor countries." Some countries once backward and poor are now building a new society. The main contradiction is between socialism and imperialism. We extend the greetings of the CP of France to Algeria and Cuba, who have chosen the socialist path.

Our Party has rejected Stalin's dictum that a country can only have socialism with a one Party political system. We note that factionalism in France has caused many difficulties and harmed not only the CP of France but also numerous public organizations. We think that the time is ripening for an international meeting of CPs. Such a meeting poses no threat to anyone. There will be no excommunication of any Party. Every Party must appreciate its international duty if we want to win the struggle against imperialism and solve the problems of our time. To postpone the meeting is to reject the united front and adopt a fatalistic attitude. We should not reject bi-lateral or multi-lateral meetings on such problems. We have found them to be most helpful and we have a wealth of such experience - of exchanges of thoughts and experience. But such bi-lateral or multi-lateral meetings do not replace international meetings which we consider a necessity.

The CP of France agrees that a world consultative meeting should be held and that the letter to these Parties is a necessity. Not to send such a letter would be a terrible error. This is the democratic way and not an infringement upon the independence of Parties.

Rudolfo Ghioldi
CP of Argentina

The next speaker was Rudolfo Ghioldi of the CP of Argentina who stated in essence as follows:

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In the resolution that resulted from the meeting of Latin American Parties in Havana, in November, 1964, we emphasized the need for a world unity and the need for an international meeting of CPs. In Latin America, unity is the fundamental basis for success. In Havana and in bi-lateral conferences we drew lessons in how to examine differences, assess them, and draw conclusions. The experience of recent years shows that public polemics, insults, and factionalism by one Party on another, is not beneficial but rather is helpful to the enemy. This reminds us of the fact that a motion condemning factionalism was proposed by Cuba and Brazil at the 1960 Moscow meeting and it was adopted unanimously.

We believe it is correct to regard the aggression in Vietnam by U.S. imperialism as aggression against the entire socialist camp. U.S. imperialism makes repeated attempts of aggression against Cuba and encourages German imperialist revengists with their plan for a multi-lateral nuclear force. If we unite we can cool the ardor of U.S. imperialism and its Pentagon.

We consider the draft letter as the most democratic approach in calling the consultative meeting. We make mention that in Havana, the CP, USA, the CP of Canada, and the CP of Puerto Rico were not present. Next time we will invite them.

The Cuban Revolution placed the question of power in a new way in Latin America, but in Havana we agreed that there can be no single pattern for revolution. True, we apply the general laws of Marxism, but in Havana, we agreed that in each country there can be a different road, peaceful or armed, Parliamentary or anti-Parliamentary, etc. But in all situations mass movements are important. We do not reject any road, but we have no a priori concepts here. Comrade Victorio Codovilla (Chairman, CP of Argentina) said at Havana that in Argentina the armed struggle is not excluded but as of now mass work seems the

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best and most appropriate way. The Latin American CPs expect to hold a conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, later this year probably in May or June.

Hermann Matern,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany
(German Democratic Republic)

The next speaker was Hermann Matern of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (German Democratic Republic), who stated in essence as follows:

U.S. imperialism has engineered a secret alliance with the Bonn Government and is proposing a multi-lateral nuclear force and the use of nuclear arms to launch a revanchist war. This would give the U.S. hegemony in Europe using West Germany as the spearhead against all the rest of Europe.

The German Democratic Republic is now in a period of progress in both domestic and foreign affairs. The proceedings and decisions of the meetings of the Warsaw Pact nations have helped to strengthen the socialist camp as a whole. Maximum unity of the world communist movement is absolutely necessary in order to change the present correlation of forces in the world. The communists of the world must unite to prevent a world war as was emphasized by the late Comrade Palmiri Togliatti (deceased General Secretary, CP of Italy). The longer we delay a meeting of world Parties, the greater becomes the danger through the miscalculations of the imperialists. There is a long list of problems that need to be discussed and resolved by collective discussion. We are convinced that this meeting and the documents that are proposed will ease the tensions in our movement.

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Fourth Session - March 3, 1965

Chairman - A. Ziller, Brazilian CP

The first order of business at this session was a report by the Editing Commission for the drafting of documents. Boris N. Ponomarev, of the CP of the Soviet Union, presented a draft of a statement on developments in Vietnam and advised that the Editing Commission had unanimously agreed to place this document before the entire meeting. It was proposed that the subject be considered the same day in order that it might be released on March 3, 1965.

Enrico Berlinguer
CP of Italy

The next speaker was Enrico Berlinguer of the CP of Italy, who stated in essence as follows:

Our points of view on some issues differ from that of some other Parties. Yet, we want to unify our movement. Far-reaching changes are taking place in the world between continents and peoples, classes, and even among governing classes on issues of peace. A new menace to peace has arisen - imperialist powers trying to balance the growing power of the people. U.S. imperialism has become more aggressive. There are contradictions among imperialists too. But the United States wants to sharpen the differences even in a most brutal manner. The imperialists have put concentration in Southeast Asia, and in Africa, and also in Latin America. There has been constant provocation by U.S. imperialist forces especially against Cuba.

In Europe also, the concept of a multi-lateral nuclear force will put nuclear arms into the hands of the Bonn revanchists. U.S. policy is up a blind alley. The United Nations organization is also in a crisis.

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The split in the world communist movement prevents to some degree action on the part of the masses and sets them back. We need more joint actions. As was pointed out by our Comrade Togliatti, there is a need for joint action against imperialism even if we may be in disagreement on ideology. We believe that it is wrong to exclude China - the polemics can continue even as we work together. I wish the participants in this conference to remember that the CP of Italy is opposed to the ideology of the CP of China.

First of all, we have to give support to Vietnam. We must show our solidarity and mobilize all the peace-loving peoples of the world. We must give support to all liberation movements and the young governments of the emerging nations. At the same time we must also be conscious of the plight of the working class in the developed countries. We must develop actions in all countries, particularly against the forces of war and against the monopolies.

We must shake off the dust of dogmatism and develop new ideas. We need deep and exhaustive discussions on the problems that are facing the working class in this historical condition. We also need to study the former colonial countries who have set their sights on socialism. The solution to many of these problems requires the consultation of many Parties, which consultations may be bi-lateral, multi-lateral or more. The Latin American conference was a good example that that is the best way because it first reduces disagreements and then develops solidarity in action. We can reduce the contradictions and erroneous positions of the Chinese comrades in this way. We have to be sensible, cautious and patient. It would be mere delusion to sit back and wait for some mythical solution.

The process of cementing unity must go beyond communists alone. There are strong revolutionary forces which are

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anti-imperialist and socialist and yet are not communist. The autonomy of every Party must be emphasized and there must be viability in the approach to these other Parties. There can be informal contacts with non-communist revolutionary Parties such as the manner in which the French have established contact with Algeria and the United Arab Republic Socialist Party, etc.

The CP of Italy has no objection in principle to international conferences, but we contend that there must be suitable conditions for such conferences. Conditions of unity must be created where all Parties can take part. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that during the past two years the approach to an international meeting has not always been positive. Within our Party, divisions have developed instead of unity as a result of conferences. We feared that two separate centers would be created by a split, one of which would be led by the CP of China. Lately, this political climate has improved. The trip by Comrade Kosygin to Vietnam, Korea and China has contributed to the creation of this better climate.

The CP of Italy wants to cement our fraternal relations with all Parties but you must bear in mind that in the main the Asian Parties are not present here. Despite our reservations we have come to this meeting in order to listen and to examine what others have to say. But we say that conditions for an international meeting have not yet matured. We are opposed to passive waiting just as we are not intimidated by Chinese threats. But we must avoid belligerence and crudeness. We should lay the basis for an international meeting on joint actions. In the meantime we are opposed to any suggestion that organizational machinery be put into gear before the maturing of conditions for an international meeting. We are opposed to the setting of dates or holding of additional meetings before other things happen. We shall oppose all organizational suggestions and we will oppose the setting up of a preparatory committee. Such actions may seem perfectly sensible and expedient, but they won't unite us.

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Insofar as the proposed letter and communique are concerned, we believe that the communique itself would be sufficient. Perhaps we could include the suggestions for further consultations in a letter. We would assist in such an accord.

The imperialists hope that we will adopt decisions at this meeting that will further divide us. Instead we should adopt a decision that will unite us all.

Dezsoe Nemes
Socialist Workers Party of Hungary

The next speaker was Dezsoe Nemes of the Socialist Workers Party of Hungary, who stated in essence as follows:

I extend to all participants the greetings of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Our Party favors a drafting committee of more than 26 Parties. In our opinion no date should be set for the next meeting until we hear from the other Parties who are not present. We are in agreement with the proposed draft of the letter to these other Parties. In our opinion answers from the other Parties should be forthcoming in three to six months. We can't wait forever. These other Parties might send their responses to other Parties with whom they have close contact, not only to the CP of the Soviet Union. Perhaps we could include the address of another Party or give the address of all Parties.

We believe that a program of joint actions should be drawn up. Perhaps there should be a document on the relations of socialist Parties, a document on colonial and former colonial nations, a document on war and peace, and a document on the independence of Parties, as well as a document on an international meeting. However, after having sent this letter, perhaps we should postpone the introduction of these documents.

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Our Party favors an international meeting and we believe it should take place in the not too distant future. But you can't hold an 81 Party meeting without some organizational preparatory steps. Maybe such preparatory steps could involve 40 or more Parties so that no single Party takes this upon itself. In answer to Comrade Berlinguer of Italy, who proposed that a communique would be sufficient without a letter, we might note that if there is only a communique people would not feel obligated to answer. It will impress them as being a mystical, vague proposition. We might say that without joint preparations there will be no conference.

If we wait for our Chinese friends to stop attacking us, it might take ten years. They curse us anyhow and present the 25 point ultimatum. We believe it would be better if all 19 Parties present at this conference signed the letter, which is a businesslike way of preparation. We should adopt this proposal.

Raul Castro,
United Party of the
Socialist Revolution of Cuba (PURS)

The next speaker was Raul Castro of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba (PURS), who stated in essence as follows:

This meeting requires that we show that this is not a drafting committee. Maximum respect should be shown for the Parties that are not present and there must be no polemics from here. A split is detrimental to the world movement and a common struggle against imperialism, for democracy and peace. Joint action is one way to help unity and there should be such joint action in all-out support for the independence movement and for the victims of imperialist aggression. This is why our

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Party supports the resolution on Vietnam. Such support is a duty of all communists. We must do our duty even if we are now split.

Therefore, we consider the road of struggle is the road that will help us overcome differences. We are opposed to polemics and we are opposed to interference by one Party in the affairs of another. We will have our differences, but they cannot be resolved in polemics. We believe that bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings followed by international meetings can help to solve our problems. The Havana conference of Latin American Parties, of which Comrade Ghioldi spoke, helped to solve some problems. There was emphasized solidarity with Cuba against U.S. imperialism. We suggest that others too do the same and also do the same in reference to the Venezuelans who even now are fighting with arms in hand.

There will always be some differences but on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we show respect for all Parties and seek to create an atmosphere for mutual respect. We say that sometimes it is better to make a joint mistake rather than to try to correct things by oneself. The enemy is jubilant over our differences. The Southeast Asian aggression by U.S. imperialism is to some extent connected with our international differences. We Cubans are disturbed that we may suffer as are the peoples of Vietnam because of our divisions. The imperialists are harboring illusions and may let these illusions overcome them.

We hold that no Party has the right to brand another with some name because of disagreements. We do not believe in hegemony of any one Party. If there are differences, there should be discussions but no insults. Until the day when the international communist movement has no enemies, we must remain united. We consider it wrong for the Party of a big country to exert pressure on another country and vice versa. We

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support the principle of the equality of Parties as was outlined in the statement of 1960. At the same time we say that the CP of the Soviet Union is at the head of the socialist column and is the bastion of the oppressed.

The road ahead will be very difficult but despite these difficulties we will stake our future on it. The international communist movement may make mistakes, but our earnestness and our ideology will unite us. Unity is the most important thing. There can be no victor and no vanquished Parties. We must work to create conditions that will breed confidence; otherwise, we will then all be the victims.

The Government of Cuba and the leadership of the PURS wishes to extend its sincere thanks to the CP of the Soviet Union for the attention which has been shown to the members of the Cuban delegation to this meeting.

R. Palme Dutt
CP of Great Britain

The next speaker was R. Palme Dutt of the CP of Great Britain who stated in essence as follows:

I offer my apologies for my late arrival at this meeting. I was delayed in leaving for the USSR because I was waiting for the decision of our national executive as to the position which we should put forward at this meeting.

The CP of Great Britain extends its thanks to the CP of the Soviet Union for the great patience and tolerance shown by the CP of the Soviet Union in trying to overcome the differences within the communist movement. We are glad that this is not a "preparatory conference." As expressed by our national executive last January, we thought it inadvisable to

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call the conference by such a title. However, we did indicate that we are willing to participate in a consultative meeting. Our Party is completely in agreement with the comrades who have indicated that there is an urgency in the holding of an international meeting because of the fact that our divergencies and the present world situation are being exploited by our enemies. I will present the viewpoint of our Party concerning the tactical aspects of preparations for a conference.

Our Party is in favor of an international conference to overcome the differences in the international movement. We were one of but four Parties that urged this in 1963. But we always stated that if our differences were to be overcome all Parties would have to join the round table. We are against conferences that perpetuate differences, although we have opposed the Chinese position for five years or more. We think that a conference is urgent but we must arrive at agreement on the method. When it was clear in November, 1964, that all Communist and Workers Parties would not be present, we urged the postponement of the December, 1964 meeting. But we were at that time against fixing a new date.

In January, 1965, we stated that an international conference must be all inclusive and must include the main Parties. Why is this important? It is not a question whether such a conference is desirable, but rather who will participate. It is obvious that all of us desire such a conference but the CP of China has not shown a cooperative response to the forms that have been made. While an international conference or a preparatory committee should take place, even if the CP of China does not participate because of the urgency of the situation, we believe that it is still not advisable if the other side, that is the CP of China, is not present. It will deepen the ideological split and take on the form of an organizational split - that is separate world centers which will then grow into two rival international centers. This would be worse than the present situation even though at present there are some splinter organizations.

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It is true, as our Bulgarian comrades have said, that the split is not due to those who foster unity, but rather to those who preach splintering. China is a great big country and if it is not included, we cannot have a real communist world movement. We cannot allow our eagerness and the urgency of the situation to rush us into precipitate action. We should beware that we do not smuggle in the preparatory committee by the back door. It is proposed that the preparatory committee call the 81 Parties into a consultative conference. This means that this gathering acts as a collective body taking an organizational step. My instructions from my national executive are to oppose any such steps except to agree to a communique. A further reason is proposed in opposition to the proposed letter. This will be a secret letter and this will give rise to speculation. Whatever we want to say we can say in a communique which, unlike the letter, would reach the membership and abolish the stigma of a "secret" document.

The proposals thus far only assume that the obstacles will have been overcome by the time of the 81 Party meeting. Why do we think that 81 Parties will participate? We have heard it said that we cannot allow two or three Parties to veto the holding of such an international meeting. Well, if we were to meet on such an issue as the multi-lateral nuclear force for example, we could make that statement. But if the meeting is called to resolve differences we cannot say this. The focal problems can be considered by an international communist conference, but unity is a prerequisite.

We can do better now by building upon the line laid down by the 1957 and 1960 documents. Any unilateral step will not resolve anything. But there can be no shortcuts. We must recognize the indisputable fact that not until the two biggest CPs, the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China, the two biggest communist powers, get together will we be able to have an international conference. The situation may change and state

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relations may improve. It is possible that joint actions by these two Parties and governments on the Vietnam situation can help.

We would suggest that instead of a ready-made proposal we ask the CP of China to elucidate what are their proposals.

We could also ask all Parties for their proposals regarding a conference. If we unilaterally fix a date for such a conference, it will lead to a collision course.

Maybe we will have to use the first method if the CP of China remains opposed to such a meeting. But we must try to have all inclusive international communist unity and not be provoked. We must strive for a united communist movement. Events are on our side and the common interest of the united forces of the world remain decisive. We must work to improve the climate for this conference. We propose that the only document to be produced by this conference, outside of the Vietnam statement, be the public communique.

Khaled Bagdache
CP of Syria

The next speaker was Khaled Bagdache of the CP of Syria who stated in essence as follows:

There are many new problems to analyze but the most important problem is the unity of the communist movement. We believe that objective conditions are ripe for the meeting but there are subjective factors that prevent it. The question is how can we lead the forces of socialism or solve the numerous problems of the world situation if we ourselves are not united. We Syrian communists are united but we have been weakened and it is difficult to develop a peoples united front because the world movement is not united. In the Arab world we believe that

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the struggle for independence depends upon the international unity of the socialist world but how can we defeat reactionaries and imperialists if we are not united? The liberation movement in the Arab world is losing the features of nationalism or mere anti-imperialism and is taking on the character of internationalism and socialism. How can we give leadership if we ourselves are divided? It is a fact that factionalism sows disunity.

Bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings are fine so far as they go. We Arabs use this method of meeting, but this is not sufficient and does not replace the need for an international meeting. We support the proposed communique and the proposed letter calling for a consultative meeting. We also support the proposal made by our German comrades that replies to the letter be sent to the CP of the Soviet Union. We also support the proposal to strengthen the "World Marxist Review."

S. A. Dange
CP of India

The next speaker was S. A. Dange of the CP of India who stated in essence as follows:

The CP of India is glad to see the convening of this conference. Since it has been more than four years since the last conference, many new features have arisen in the march of mankind that need answers. Imperialist contradictions are growing and there are also growing contradictions within the United States on the question of war and peace. A conference is long overdue. It is our opinion that the CP of China is not only ideologically separate, but they are also taking organizational steps against all Parties and mass movements. We must overcome these and a conference of world Parties can do this. We disagree with those that say that because the CP of China won't attend such a conference this will worsen the split. We

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are being subjected to great pressure and to the philosophy of splitting. A world conference would help. You must remember that the 1960 conference was called to resolve some differences. If these differences had been allowed to drift without solution, the communist movement would not have been able to achieve those victories we now have. We should seek a common ground on which to hold discussions. We should not meet as victors but rather to reach agreement.

L. Aarons
CP of Australia

The next speaker was L. Aarons of the CP of Australia who stated in essence as follows:

Our Party agrees with the proposals submitted to this meeting. These are serious proposals to unfreeze the situation that has developed. If we ignore these serious and fundamental differences, it will harm us. These are not going to be solved easily and maybe the conditions are not yet ripe, but we should not just wait. We must use initiative and work to unite and merge the socialist countries, the liberation movement, and the working class struggle. We also greet Comrade Kosygin's visit to Vietnam as a positive step. This is a most urgent problem since the United States intervention can have most important consequences for that part of the world.

The Chinese say that this meeting will lead to a split. We disagree. We believe that we can achieve positive results if we concentrate upon the burning issues of our current epoch. The draft letter should be carefully edited. There should be no prejudgments; no "musts," etc. It must have concrete proposals. Our job is not to convince the 66 Parties that agree, but rather those 15 or 16 Parties that will not attend.

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Our Party is opposed to public polemics. Our Party recently issued a statement on China in which we exposed the slanders of the ruling class against China. We emphasized that our disagreements are principled ones. In our opinion the CP of China support of splitters is magnified and that "a flea to the prisms of Peking becomes a kangaroo." We propose an appropriate paragraph in the letter to ban nuclear weapons and to support the Chinese proposal for a world conference on this subject.

The CP of Australia supports the proposal for a world conference of Communist and Workers Parties.

Final Session - March 5, 1965

Chairman - R. Palme Dutt, CP of Great Britain

Boris N. Ponomarev
CP of the Soviet Union

Boris N. Ponomarev of the CP of the Soviet Union delivered a report from the Editorial Committee on the termination of their work. The communique had been made all-inclusive and one document would be issued instead of two. Several meetings had been held and complete agreement had been reached upon the basis of principles. The draft of the communique was placed before the consultative meeting and it was noted that all Parties present had made contributions to the summary of the meetings as contained in the communique. Ponomarev proposed that the communique be circulated to all 81 Parties and then as the Chairman of the Editorial Committee made the motion that the document be approved and adopted.

Chairman R. Palme Dutt of Great Britain then asked for remarks from the delegations.

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Enrico Berlinguer
CP of Italy

The next speaker was Enrico Berlinguer of the CP of Italy who stated in essence as follows:

As we conclude our work and approve the results of this meeting we of the CP of Italy want to make a brief statement for the record. The Central Committee of the CP of Italy has instructed us to state that there must be profound respect for the consultative nature of our statement in view of the absence of a number of Parties so that this document would not appear to be binding. It was from this thought that all our objections stemmed. That is why we objected to the "confidential" letter to the Parties and why we expressed a preference for a brief communique that would express a common desire for unity and a common desire for the ripening of political conditions for a unity meeting.

We took into consideration the opinions of the other Parties so that we could arrive at unanimity. We acknowledge that the other Parties here did the same and that the meeting gave up the idea of a confidential letter. But the final results of the meeting leave some doubts and some reservations. This is because we are adopting a document which in length and breadth is at variance with the nature of the meeting. Further, the analyses of the political situation are not profound enough, but rather are mechanical. It treats the 1957 and 1960 documents mechanically although some portions of them are out of date.

We also object to the way we talk of a future conference. Despite these reservations our Central Committee instructs us to adopt this communique so that we can bring this meeting to a conclusion. We also appreciate the fact that a divergence of views from this conference would hinder our cause. In the future, if we want to reaffirm that in the future an international meeting would serve a useful purpose, we will say so. But right now, we

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say that the time is not yet ripe. The political conditions need to ripen so that if such a meeting is prepared the entire movement can take a step forward as compared to 1960, and so that such a meeting does not risk a widening of the breach or create a split.

Some comrades think that such a meeting is necessary and possible now. I repeat our firm conviction that the split would be far worse if we rush into this. We face the dilemma that if we hold a conference of all principled revolutionary forces or a conference that would cause a split, then the world communist movement will be divided into two world centers or two counterpoised blocs. A future conference must be regarded as a possible means to achieve unity, not a split. This does not mean that we must take years or that we submit to a veto or blackmail, but if we were to say six months or ten years, that should be no problem. The important thing is that neither side has serious objections.

We have received the promise that conditions will mature. We will see this in joint action against imperialism; in the advance of the cause of peace and socialism; and in the development of critical discussion and the development of the positions of each Party. These would ripen the political climate for the entire movement. In this development the CP of Italy would make its contribution for the convocation of a meeting. We will not join those who propose a meeting without the ripening of these conditions. With these reservations we join and give our consent to the final communique.

We wish to express our satisfaction in regard to the frank discussions and atmosphere which have prevailed at this meeting. These things will bring us closer together. Our warm thanks to our Soviet comrades who as always accepted us in a friendly and comradely manner and have made the conduct of this meeting possible.

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Khaled Bagdache
CP of Syria

Bagdache next spoke and congratulated the Drafting Committee for a job well done and made a small suggestion concerning the placement within the communique of one of the statements. Boris N. Ponomarev then indicated that the suggestion of Bagdache had been considered by the Editorial Committee and that they had decided to make the placement as presented to the conference. According to Ponomarev, it really didn't make too much difference since it is part of a general program. Bagdache agreed to leave the communique as written.

S. A. Dange
CP of India

S. A. Dange of the CP of India agreed with the Italian reservation that some parts of the 1960 statement are out of date, but stated that the general line of the 1960 statement is still valid.

Zenon Kliszko
United Workers Party of Poland

The next speaker was Zenon Kliszko of the United Workers Party of Poland who stated in essence as follows:

Our Party agrees with the draft of the communique before us. The Italian comrades have pointed out that they have a few doubts. But I think we need to point out that these reservations were in the minds of many of those present, that is to try to impart a consultative character to this conference and there should be no effort to impose resolutions on other Parties.

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I believe we can say that our conference was the first one in the history of the international movement in which we showed so much consideration for all proposals. If we can sum it up, we can say that 17 Parties framed this letter and that serious objections were raised by two Parties: Italy and Great Britain. We met those proposals - if the CP of Italy says they want to go on "record" that the Italian comrades do not want to disfavor "disunity." If we had agreed earlier as I stated earlier in the conference, we could have reached a consensus much earlier.

In all the deliberations up until now no one has discussed the split itself. The CP of the Soviet Union and the United Workers Party of Poland had bitter experiences in the old days when the CP in Poland was dissolved during Stalin's period. During the Nazi occupation the Party built from scratch. Yet we will continue to favor unity because we know what it means to dissolve a Party.

I want to apologize for this speech but we talked to our Italian friends and our Cuban friends many times and we never raised or felt that there was a tendency to split. We never harbored intentions to excommunicate any Party. Therefore, I want to underscore for the benefit of our Italian friends that a spirit prevailed at this conference to bring about political, organizational, or any other conditions to bring about the world unity of the movement.

I listened to the statements of the comrades from the CP of Italy and from R. Palme Dutt of the CP of Great Britain. I must admit that Palme Dutt was candid and told us what the CP of Great Britain has in mind. We did not adopt a general line nor substantive document. We merely indicate how a future conference should be carefully prepared. We did not set times or anything else. The Italians have a right to say what they

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did but I thought I should make these remarks after Berlinguer's remarks. We have made a great stride forward today and now let's conclude with unanimity.

Following the above remarks, Palme Dutt of Great Britain commented that they should not start the discussion all over again and Berlinguer of the CP of Italy objected that he had not charged anyone with desiring or fomenting a split. Chairman Palme Dutt then indicated that in the absence of objections, it was assumed that all Parties adopted the documents of this conference. Boris N. Ponomarev of the CP of the Soviet Union stated that the document would be published on March 10, 1965.

Raul Castro of the PURS of Cuba stated that he had been promised all the material of this conference to take back to Cuba with him and made this as a proposal.

Peter Florin of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Secretariat of the consultative meeting, then agreed to give each Party a copy of the record but not of the minutes of the conference. He stated that copies of the speeches would also be available if the delegates who made the speeches agreed to it.

R. Palme Dutt
CP of Great Britain

R. Palme Dutt, the Chairman of this final session, then spoke to the following effect:

We have now come to the end of our gathering. We wish to express our thanks to our comrades in the CP of the Soviet Union and also to all the technical workers who made this meeting possible. We frankly and in a comradely spirit reached a basis for our results of the meeting. The spirit

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of internationalism has inspired our aims at this meeting and will continue to inspire our future aims.

At this point the consultative meeting was adjourned.

The source has advised that contrary to publicly published statements to the effect that the CP, USA, was in attendance at the above meeting merely as observers, the representatives of the CP, USA were in fact participants in this meeting rather than observers. James Jackson addressed the meeting during the third session and presented the views of the CP, USA. Further, the CP, USA was represented on the Secretariat of the meeting and a representative of the CP, USA participated in the work of the Editorial Committee for the drafting of the communique. However, the substance of the remarks of James Jackson at the third session of the meeting are not available and therefore are not set forth above.

Set forth below is the text of the communique adopted by the consultative meeting of the 19 Communist and Workers Parties at the meeting in Moscow, USSR, which text has previously been published in the public press:

MOSCOW STATEMENT OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES

Moscow, USSR
March 10, 1965

A Consultative meeting of the representatives of the Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Brazil, Communist Party of Bulgaria, United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Finland, Communist Party of France, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Socialist Workers

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Party of Hungary, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Italy, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, United Workers Party of Poland, Communist Party of Syria, Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held in Moscow from 1st to 5th of March.

The representatives of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. attended the meeting as observers.

The participants of the Meeting had consultations on questions of mutual interest, exchanged views on the ways to overcome disagreements and to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement.'

The meeting was held in the atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and was inspired with the spirit of active struggle for uniting the communist movement in the name of carrying out its historic tasks. The participants of the meeting expressed strong determination of their parties to consolidate the international communist movement to strengthen its solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line worked out by the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960.

The representatives of the parties stated that the basic tendency of the world development in the contemporary conditions is the strengthening of the positions of socialism, intensification of the national liberation and international workers movement, growth of the forces standing for the preservation and consolidation of peace.

At the same time it was pointed out that world reaction, and, first of all, American imperialism is becoming more active all over the world, is aiming at aggravation of the situation and is taking aggressive actions against socialist countries, countries liberated from colonialism and the revolutionary movement of peoples.

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In this situation as never before all communist parties are demanded to show understanding of their international responsibility to be united in the common fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, domination of the monopolistic capital, for the active support of the liberation movement and the defense of the peoples exposed to imperialist aggression, for the struggle for peace based on the respect of sovereignty and integrity of all states.

In their statement the participants of the meeting expressed their solidarity with the heroic Viet Nam people, Viet Nam Workers Party and called for international solidarity in the fight against aggressive actions of American militarists.

If the struggle against imperialism is to be successful the decisive role must be played by the Unity of all revolutionary forces - socialist world, national-liberation movement and international working class.

The interests of uniting those forces urgently demand the strengthening of the solidarity of the International Communist Movement.

Differences in the communist movement while weakening its unity undermine the cause of the international Communist Movement, the cause of Communism.

The participants of the meeting expressed their belief that things that unite the communist movement are much stronger than those that separate them at present. Despite the differences concerning the political line and many important theoretical and tactical problems it is quite possible and necessary to make efforts to attain unity in the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of all-round support of liberation

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movements of peoples, in the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems whether big or small in the struggle for vital interests and historic goals of the working class.

The right way to overcome present differences lies in joint efforts in the struggle for those common goals.

The participants of the meeting underlined the necessity of collective efforts on the part of communist parties for improving relations among parties, for strengthening the solidarity of the International Communist Movement on the basis of democratic principles of independence and equality of all fraternal parties.

In the struggle for solution of problems that are common to all the Communist movement, it is expedient to use all opportunities and ways, bilateral and multilateral meetings of the representatives of the fraternal parties and other forms of party communications and exchange of views.

The participants of the meeting are unanimous that in present conditions as it was stated in the Statement of 1960, the international meetings of the Communist and Workers parties are an effective form of mutual exchange of views and experience, of enriching by collective efforts of Marxist-Leninist theory and working out the positions in the struggle for common aims. Such meetings held with observance of principles of full equality and independence of each party can serve well to the course of overcoming differences and uniting the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why in the opinion of all participants of the meeting an active and all-round preparation of a new international meeting and its conducting at a suitable time is in the interests of the international Communist movement. In order to convene and successfully conduct a new meeting it has to be prepared both

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from the point of view of its substance and in respect of its organization, by joint efforts actively create favorable conditions for participation in its preparation of all fraternal parties, unceasingly try to improve the atmosphere in the international communist movement. The meeting is called to serve the common cause of all communists.

Concentration of attention and efforts on important tasks of the Communist movement most of all will serve to unite our positions on the present time.

The participants of the meeting considered that for the discussion of the question of a new international meeting it is desirable to hold a preliminary consultative meeting of the representatives of 81 parties which participated in the 1960 meeting. For the solution of the question of convening such a preliminary meeting it is necessary to have consultations with all these parties.

The parties represented at the present meeting pronounced for putting an end to open polemics of unfriendly and offensive character to fraternal parties.

Moreover, they consider it useful to continue the exchange of views on important problems of our times which are of mutual interest, in a friendly atmosphere and without mutual accusations.

The participants of the meeting stood for the strict observance of the principles of relationship among parties established by the meetings of 1957 and 1960, and are against interference by any parties into internal affairs of other parties.

Expressing their views concerning the ways of overcoming difficulties in the international future development the

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representatives of the parties were governed by their concern for strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist movement in its struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The representatives of the parties are confident that the meeting will receive a positive response on the part of the fraternal parties.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Plans for New Building in East Berlin, German Democratic Republic."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/28/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

CG 5824-S* advised that the information contained in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished to him in East Berlin during the latter part of April, 1965, by HEINZ BIRCH, who is in charge of U.S. affairs and relations with the Communist Party, USA, in the International Department, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

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1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM) 13 MAY 7 1965

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Special Agent in Charge

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 5, 1965

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PLANS FOR NEW BUILDING IN EAST
BERLIN, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

During late April, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During April, 1965, a highly placed individual in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (German Democratic Republic) stated that in one of the areas close to the "Berlin Wall" the German Democratic Republic authorities are razing some existing buildings and the present intention is to build a new building in their place. This new building will be one of the tallest buildings in the city. Further, on top of this building will be erected a very high antenna. This individual noted that this high building and antenna will be located right in one of the Western air corridors into Berlin. It is being constructed with the specific purpose of making air flights by West powers into Berlin more difficult and dangerous.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~declassification~~

100-478091-4781
ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via ~~AIRTEL~~ REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Position of the Communist Party of Italy Regarding Unity of the World Communist Movement."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 5/1, 3 and 4/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was obtained by the source during a separate meeting between the delegation of the Communist Party (CP) of Italy and the CP, USA, which was held in Moscow, USSR, on 3/1/65, the first day of the consultative meeting of the 19

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

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19 MAY 7 1965

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

65 MAY 11 1965
 CC 128
 134-46 Sub B
 100-428091

4782

CG 134-46 Sub B

CPs. Participating in this discussion were the following:
For the CP, USA - CG 5824-S*; JAMES JACKSON, member of the Secretariat and Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker"; HYMAN LUMER, member of the National Board and Editor of "Political Affairs"; and GILBERT GREEN, member of the Secretariat.
For the CP of Italy - ENRICO BERLINGUER, member of the Political Bureau and chief spokesman at this meeting; GIANCARLO PAJETTA and L. PINTOR, both leading members of the CP of Italy. The comments of the CP, USA delegates were not particularly significant or germane to warrant recording herein.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF ITALY REGARDING UNITY
OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

During early May, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In early March, 1965, incident to the gathering of delegates from a number of Communist Parties (CPs) in Moscow, USSR, for a consultative meeting held March 1-5, 1965, the position of the CP of Italy (CPI) concerning the unity of the world communist movement was outlined by a group of leading members of the CPI which included the following: Enrico Berlinguer, member of the Political Bureau, Giancarlo Pajetta and L. Pintor. The essence of their remarks on the subject was as follows:

The CPI objects to the convening at this time of a general meeting of Communist and Workers Parties because we believe that conditions are not now ripe, although we wish to make it clear that we are not in principle opposed to such a conference. We foresee a danger in this action to exacerbate existing differences which might lead not to unity but to just the opposite.

We believe that there are many new problems that have arisen which need deeper study before progressing in that direction. One such problem is the struggle of workers in the developed countries. We work under the difficult conditions of a developed country with a number of allies and thus there are many problems which are important to us but which perhaps may not be important to others. Another problem is the analyses of colonial and neo-colonial forms and the new forms of the liberation movement. There are also new and difficult problems in socialist countries.

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from~~
~~automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

100-428091-4782
ENCLOSURE

POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF ITALY REGARDING UNITY
OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

It would be impossible to resolve such great problems in a general meeting and in a resolution resulting therefrom. That is but form only and no substance. We see a general world conference of Parties as a conclusion after a diligent study of such problems. The call for a conference and the need for a conference was placed in terms of a matter "of life and death." The way it was put was "Are you for or against?" This created distrust and suspicions.

We did not agree with the Chinese position but we gave them the possibility of talking and writing about the subject of revisionism. Some Parties just waited for a conference and did nothing in the meantime. We are not against the general proposal of the conference, but we propose a different approach. First, we propose common initiatives on burning issues, such as peace, Vietnam, the Congo, etc. We believe not only in bilateral discussions but also in multilateral conferences such as the one held in Havana, Cuba, of the Latin American Parties. This approach, we realize, means hard work.

We know it is difficult to eliminate the differences which exist between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China. But such differences can be minimized without surrendering principles. We believe the polemics should continue without slander. Nevertheless, our position is not contradictory to the growing and working together of all Parties. After such a period, a conference can be gathered and be useful. It would then help unity.

For the reasons we have outlined, we were against a meeting at this time for we believe it only sharpens the differences. We greet the change in the form of this meeting. But we see dangers even in this meeting since most of the Asian Parties are absent, especially the Chinese. These risks of furthering a split can be lessened if we can arrive at some unanimous conclusions. The Chinese are already attacking this conference, but we should not give them cause for it so as not to permit this to influence the masses. In Italy, the masses will have a negative attitude in regard to this meeting because the CP of China is absent.

~~TOP SECRET~~

POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF ITALY REGARDING UNITY
OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

We are of the opinion that the comrades who are present at this meeting do not want to widen the differences. At the same time we are worried about the "confidential letter" to our brother Parties. We will explain why we are against this letter. We came here believing that there would not be any such documents, but even this misunderstanding on our part is not the important thing.

We see several dangers. 1) The Parties present here are taking upon themselves the right to be a "permanent" board. This can be a pretext which can be used by the Chinese to assert that we are building an organization. 2) This can be bad for the Parties in the capitalist countries and the newly emerging countries because it might appear that the CPs are reverting back to old organizational forms. We were told that the form is "embryonic" but in reality eighteen to nineteen Parties will really be the organization itself. 3) Some of the sharpness of the past years is not needed in the context of this meeting. A consultative conference is what we proposed. But despite our understanding, mechanisms have already been set up and this is harmful. Six months from now we will be right back where we are now. I can tell you right now, that we will not sign such a letter. We are in agreement only on the issuance of a public communique and we want a shorter one than that currently proposed.

We will be required to furnish an explanation to our membership as to why we did not sign such a letter, but we believe that we are right in our stand. Perhaps it would be acceptable if we only talked of the possibility or desirability of convening an eighty-one Party meeting; but it is not acceptable in its present form which constitutes a call for such a meeting. Some Parties have understood our position; some Parties have misunderstood or outright disagree with us; and some Parties don't care whether we sign it or not.

Now some people have said that the CPI is opposed to any world conference and that their position is that of Comrade Togliatti, meaning "polycentrism." Let us point out that the word "polycentrism" was used only once eight years

~~TOP SECRET~~

POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF ITALY REGARDING UNITY
OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

ago. This word has been built up for one reason or another. Let us make it clear that we are not for a regional organization that would divide the socialist world from Parties in capitalist countries; we are for a wider world organization which will be all-inclusive. Unity in the world communist movement can be organized today on the basis of a different form than was used in the past without a new world center. The CPI is wholeheartedly for autonomy of each Party. We favor initiative on the part of every Party, yet we favor unity on our common aim.

We do not want a world-wide conference when the time is not ripe for it. We do not want the movement split into several parts with one center for advanced Parties, another center for Asian countries, or other centers for other regions, etc.

Relative to the position of the CP of China, we believe that we should fight to liquidate the Chinese position. This can be done in a manner similar to the conference of Latin American Parties. In our opinion when the Albanians shout at the Cubans calling them "revisionists," it is stupid. We believe that a world meeting can be held when the Chinese are weaker. Our goal is not compromise, rather it is unity. We do not speak from ignorance of the activities of the Chinese, because, as you are probably aware, there is considerable activity by the Chinese factionalists in the CPI.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: MAY 5 1965

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Meeting Between Representatives of the Communist Party of France and the Communist Party, USA, Moscow, USSR, February, 1965."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 27/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW
(5)

REC-2

10 MAY 8 1965

4783

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

The source advised that the meeting referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum took place in Moscow, USSR, on 2/27/65.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

MAY 5 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE AND
THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MOSCOW,
USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

During April, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During late February, 1965, just prior to the beginning of the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, USSR, on March 1, 1965, representatives of these Parties began assembling in Moscow for the meeting and held various smaller meetings among themselves. One such meeting took place between the representatives of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the Communist Party of France (CPF). The French were Raymond Guyot, a member of the Political Bureau, and Jean Kanapa, a member of the Central Committee, CPF. The Americans were James Jackson, member of the Secretariat of the CP, USA and Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker," a United States East Coast communist newspaper; Hyman Lumer, member of the National Board, CP, USA, and Editor of "Political Affairs," theoretical journal of the CP, USA; and, Gilbert Green, a member of the Secretariat of the CP, USA. The essence of this discussion was as follows:

Raymond Guyot

The CPF is wholeheartedly in favor of the forthcoming meeting of March 1, 1965. We would have very serious objections to any further postponement. While this is not a conference but only a consultative meeting, nonetheless, as you know, it is proposed that two documents be issued:

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-428091-4783
ENCLOSURE

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MOSCOW, USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

one, a public communique, and the other a confidential letter to the 81 Communist and Workers Parties of the world. Insofar as we are concerned, the central subject of this letter is the recognition of the principle justifying the right to call such a conference.

The CPF strongly believes that it is most necessary to hold a conference such as this regardless of the existence of the present split in the world communist movement. In our opinion, there are many theoretical and political considerations which persuade us of the necessity for holding it. Although the era of colonization is practically over, there are many other problems concerning independence which have arisen. We recall that the Moscow Statement of 1960 speaks of a national democracy based on a non-capitalist economy. In the present circumstances, just what does this mean? We have before us today the example of Algeria as a non-capitalist development, but we had no such example in 1960. In 1960 the question was raised concerning a socialist commonwealth but this needs further discussion. Another example was consideration of the question of how to prevent war concerning which we now have additional experience upon which to base our discussions and decisions. Although some people have said that United States aggression in Vietnam is showing the strength of imperialism, we contend the opposite--that this imperialist aggression reveals the weakness of United States imperialism.

We believe that during the last five years many things have happened which would be in the interest of all Parties to discuss. That is why the CPF will continue to stand by its decision to support the call for an international meeting. Since 1960 many dangers have arisen because of the split and factionalism in the movement. The reason we have come to the decision to change the nature of the March 1, 1965, meeting was because some Parties are not yet able to participate in a conference of the nature originally proposed. There is practically no Party which in principle is against an international conference of Parties. We have read the letter from the Rumanian Workers Party and they expressed their agreement in principle with such a conference. Likewise, the Workers Party of Vietnam also says that they stand for the calling of such a conference. That is why the March 1, 1965, meeting should take the step of calling for such a meeting.

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MOSCOW, USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

In regard to the draft letter, which is one of the documents proposed for the March 1st meeting, it is to be noted that changes have been made in it and further changes may be made. Although there may be some changes made in its style, the important aspect is the content and spirit of this draft. We of the CPF made additions to this draft--we included a statement concerning peaceful coexistence which has now been included in the draft letter. But there is no mention of peaceful coexistence in the communique. We think it should be because the communique will be published. In our comments in France we will mention it but some will say that the CPF talks of peaceful coexistence but it is not even mentioned in the communique.

Jean Kanapa

In our view there are three proposals in the draft letter: 1) the calling of an international conference; 2) the stopping of public polemics; and, 3) the holding of bilateral and multilateral meetings. We stand for bilateral meetings and have held them in the past. This is a normal, natural, traditional part of Party relations. In 1964 we held fourteen such meetings and also participated in a number of regional meetings, such as a meeting dealing with the struggle against the Common Market. But we are against including this in a letter to the 81 Parties. Seventeen or eighteen Parties cannot tell seventy Parties what kind of meetings can be held. Moreover, the content of the letter assigns a special character to such meetings. We stand for all such meetings only if they are well defined and have limited aims, such as are of common interest to the participating Parties. For example, at the Common Market meeting that I mentioned the problems concerning other Parties in this matter were not discussed.

We think such a recommendation opens the door to dangers such as were contained in the Togliatti memorandum. Comrade Togliatti hinted that such bilateral and multilateral meetings can become a replacement for international meetings. This is why we told the comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) that we stand for bilateral and multilateral meetings but not raised in the manner in which stated in the draft letter. We think that point should be

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MOSCOW, USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

left in the draft letter but not connected with the point on the preparation of the conference. Of course, such bilateral and multilateral meetings could help in the preparation of an international conference. Therefore, we welcome the meetings of the CPSU, the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Workers Party of Vietnam, and the Korean Party of Labor.

The Soviet comrades listened to our remarks with attention. They may even be persuaded to change the order of these paragraphs so as not to counterpose bilateral and multilateral meetings against an international meeting.

Raymond Guyot

I realize that this does not cover all the subject matter but in general we can say that the CPF agrees with the general text of the documents.

James Jackson

The CP, USA delegates value this opportunity to exchange preliminary thoughts with our French comrades on the content of these documents. Up to now, the CP, USA delegation has not yet exchanged thoughts among themselves on these documents. However, a casual reading shows that the spirit of the documents is in keeping with the thinking of our Party's leadership and delegation. Also, we can have an exchange of personal thoughts. I would hope there will be some concrete proposals on Vietnam which will come out in this conference. Also, I think that this meeting should consider the creation of an administrative center for meetings outside the Soviet Union.

Raymond Guyot

This question is very important. The Hungarian comrades raised this also and they also agree with the spirit of these documents.

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MOSCOW, USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Gilbert Green

I agree that the tone of these two documents is correct, but there is one question which we are skirting. Why was the character of this meeting changed? The answer is because the CPC and some other Parties are not present. If we pressed for the original kind of meeting, the break would have been unbreachable, so we changed the character of the meeting. In principle, we are for an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties. We are calling for a consultative meeting of the 81 Parties. But if only 60-65 Parties respond, are we not back where we started? We can't stand still, but we need to stress, however, in this preparation the normalization of Party and state relations. The stress should be placed on unity of action, the ending of factional interference and that we should convene world conferences on partial questions. It is possible that some Parties do not want to come to a conference on general problems, but may come to discuss a concrete question.

I can't see how a letter sent to all Parties would bring a world meeting closer. It would be wiser if we faced the facts. May be we should say that at this time it is impossible to call such a meeting. At the end of the year we could call another meeting to take another look at the situation. The most hopeful sign is the trip of Comrade Kosygin. Two things were accomplished by this trip: 1) unity of action on Vietnam; and, 2) opening up of normal relations with these Parties, including the CPC, although they are still very apart on ideological questions.

Jean Kanapa

Comrade Green raises a question that all of us have placed. Let's face the facts--the CPC has never said that they are against an international conference. But they continue to oppose this meeting which was proposed. They used to say that they were against the meeting because it was being convened by the CPSU. They were against this meeting because they said the meeting wants to repudiate the CPC. We of the CPF say that these are lies and that the CPC arguments cause many Parties to "hesitate." So, we said, "OK. Let's prepare a meeting of another character; let's show the Chinese that their 'fears' are not based on facts."

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MOSCOW, USSR, FEBRUARY, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

It is necessary that we pay attention to these letters that were mentioned by Comrade Guyot. Those Parties are not against an international meeting but they share the arguments of the CPC on the method of calling the conference. Now they say that not one Party alone nor a group of Parties should decide this question, that all Parties should decide. If at least 60-65 Parties will speak up for the calling of this conference, it will be more difficult for the Chinese comrades to argue against it. We are not being evasive. We, too, are very concerned at our facing this question squarely. The people who will read this letter will understand what we mean even if we muffle the tones.

Comrade Green's suggestion on conferences regarding parial issues may be OK. But that is what a consultative meeting should decide: whether there should be this or other kinds of conferences and who should call them.

Raymond Guyot

I believe it is clear that the international communist movement is not standing still. The fact that the Cuban comrades are present signifies progress. I am sure you will understand what I mean by this. There may still be some disagreements in our discussions.

I think it would be good if the British comrades would come to this consultative meeting. I want to call the attention of the CP, USA comrades to our opinion that we should completely reject the principle that there should be no international meetings of any kind. If on March 1st we do meet, it will prove the universality of our movement. Insofar as the CPF is concerned, the main question involved is the principle of the right to call an international meeting, not the methods by which it is done, etc. This is the central question at the present stage of development.

The CPC does not want international conferences. Because the CPC cannot openly come out against such meetings, they want instead to ridicule the idea and thus they talk of

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

May 7, 1965

BY LIAISON

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Soviet Views on the Convening of a World Conference of All Communist Parties," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~". This information is being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

100-428091

WGS:pah

(7)

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC-34

100-428091-4784
(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAY 10 1965

65 MAY 12 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAY 7 11 59 AM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 4/30/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/6/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC-34
ST-117
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
FBI

Date: 5/7/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

ReCGairtel dated 1/18/65, enclosing copies of an informant's statement captioned, [REDACTED] RAYMOND COPE;" Bulet dated 2/8/65 and CGairtel dated 5/6/65, all of which were captioned "SOLO."

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for New York one copy of an informant's statement entitled, [REDACTED] RAYMOND COPE."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished on 4/28/65 by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

Interested offices are being furnished with pertinent information contained herein by separate communication under the individual case caption.

1-81376
3-Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

REC-34

18 MAY 10 1965

EX 105

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUN 3 1965
FBI

48
[redacted] RAYMOND COPE Calif

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b7C

In March, 1965, Vladimir (last name unknown), a representative of the Security Branch, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), was in contact with a representative of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) who was then in Moscow, USSR. At this time Vladimir requested that he be furnished the information which the CP, USA may have secured in connection with the request he had made several months previously concerning [redacted] and Raymond Cope. At the time Vladimir exhibited a very keen interest in getting this information concerning [redacted] and Cope, but he gave no specific reason as to why the CPSU made the inquiry concerning them. When informed by the CP, USA representative that the Party had not been able to locate or develop current information on [redacted] Vladimir noted, "The guy who should know [redacted] well is Oakley Johnson. He introduced him to us. The general tone of Vladimir's conversation on both [redacted] and Cope indicated that the CPSU was interested in knowing exactly what these people were doing at the present time.

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When Vladimir was provided with the general information developed to date on Cope, he was happy and satisfied. This information was to the effect that Cope was still living in Berkeley, California, active as a minister, and carrying on peace activities and making speeches on this subject which were generally with a pro-Soviet outlook.

Since the CP, USA representative was unable to supply any information to Vladimir on [redacted] this individual promised that upon his return to the United States every effort would be made by the Party as soon as possible to get the information and that it would be transmitted through channels to the Russians.

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b7C

- 1 -

100-428091-4785
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/7/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled,

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26, 27 and 5/6/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

CG 5824-S* advised that the matter in the enclosed letterhead memorandum came to his attention in the following manner. During the last day of the "World Marxist Review" seminar held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 3/16-18/65, there was handed to CG 5824-S* a note addressed to "Our American Comrades." This note was dated 3/18/65 and stated as follows:

- 1 and 8086
 ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:sck
 (5)
 ENCLOSURE

18 MAY 10 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 28 1965

b6
b7c

REC-34

100-428091-4786

EX-108

CG 134-46 Sub B

"Dear American Comrades.

"I must speak with you about a very important matter which is fundamentally effects my life and the life of my family. Comrade Winton knows me and my family personally and also knows about this matter. Comrade Winston and I have informed Comrade Fried of Canada. At this moment I would like to (in fact I need very much) to speak with you. Please make our contact possible at all expense. I need your help.

"/s/ [redacted]
American Negro Comrade

b6
b7C

"P.S. My telephone is out of order. I will call Jane Fried at various interval_ to-day."

Subsequent to this meeting, CG 5824-S* raised this question with MIROSLAV JIRASKA, who was in charge of that section of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia, which handles relations with CPs in Western countries, and therefore specifically deals with the CP, USA. JIRASKA indicated something must be done about this individual but CG 5824-S* indicated that [redacted] was unknown to him. JIRASKA suggested that CG 5824-S* conduct an investigation but CG 5824-S* indicated that he did not desire to meet this individual and in turn suggested that perhaps the investigation could be conducted in his place by JOHN VAFIADES, an American residing in Prague, Czechoslovakia, who is employed by the World Federation of Trade Unions. JIRASKA agreed to this arrangement and as a result, VAFIADES interviewed [redacted] on 3/23 and 3/29/65, and prepared a memorandum of the results of these discussions, the contents of which are set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum. It was learned that [redacted] had previously been in touch with NORMAN FREED and [redacted] but [redacted] was unknown to them although they were sympathetic with his plight. (NORMAN FREED is the CP of Canada representative to the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia.)

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Prior to leaving Prague, CG 5824-S* was informed by JIRASKA that [redacted] had sent a note to ANTONIN NOVOTNY, First

CG 134-46 Sub B

Secretary of the CP of Czechoslovakia, complaining of mistreatment. Because of JIRASKA's entreaties that something be done about this individual, CG 5824-S* wrote a short note to the CP of Czechoslovakia stating that [redacted] was not known to CG 5824-S* to be in the CP, USA, but since this would be a sensitive problem and because he has a wife and family, CG 5824-S* suggested that the CP of Czechoslovakia handle this matter cautiously.

b6
b7C

When CG 5824-S* returned to Moscow, USSR, from Prague, he spoke with WILLIAM PATTERSON, a Negro member of the CP, USA leadership, who also stated that he did not know [redacted]. However, he stated that he had heard about him when he had been in Prague during his last trip in 1960 or 1961 to the socialist countries. CG 5824-S* stated he also had talked to IB. NOERLUND, a leading member of the CP of Denmark, who advised that he did not know this man at all. CG 5824-S* stated that apparently HENRY WINSTON, Vice Chairman of the CP, USA, while in Czechoslovakia, had met with [redacted] and had given him a CP, USA credential simply because [redacted] is a Negro and WINSTON was sympathetic.

b6
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
May 7, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

During late April and early May, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It has been learned that there is in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic an American Negro by the name of [REDACTED] who has been there since 1955. [REDACTED] has been experiencing some difficulties with the Czech authorities and as a result has been attempting to obtain the endorsement and assistance of the Communist Party (CP), USA. During the course of [REDACTED] efforts in this regard, he was interviewed on March 23 and March 29, 1965, by John Vafiades, former American employed by the World Federation of Trade Unions, Prague, Czechoslovakia (a characterization of which appears in the appendix hereto). Upon completion of these interviews, Vafiades incorporated the results thereof in a written statement, the text of which is set forth below:

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"Notes on My Talks with [REDACTED]
on March 23rd and March 29th, 1965

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"Our talks were conducted on the basis of questions and answers. In order to make the reading easier I would like to relate what Sutton had told me.

[REDACTED] was born in Roseville, Kentucky, on [REDACTED]. His family moved to Terre Haute, Indiana, after he finished school.

"He finished high school and attended for three years the Kentucky State Industrial College, majoring in chemistry and mathematics. In the State of Indiana,

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~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

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ENCLOSURE

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[redacted]
he attended the Indiana State College in Terre Haute for one year, studying English, social studies and a Roman language. In addition took two summer courses at the Indiana University in Bloomington in pedagogy.

[redacted] joined the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in 1939 in Terre Haute. When I asked him whether he knew anyone by name in his party branch or the party section organizer, he said he couldn't remember but did remember Phil Bart, who was then the District Organizer. He claims that he had attended a state conference of the Communist Party in 1939 in Gary, Indiana, where Foster had spoken.

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[redacted] left Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1942 and went to Portland, Oregon. When asked if he had the permission of the Party to leave the city and the State and whether he had a Party transfer he answered in the negative.

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"In Portland, he worked in the shipyards as a carpenter. In my first talk with him on March 23rd he said that he did not come in touch with the Party organization in Portland nor was he a member of it, but he knew a member of the Party who worked together with him in the shipyards. On the 29th of March, he claimed the opposite, that he was a member of the Party in Portland and that when he left for Seattle, Washington, he had gotten a transfer to the Seattle Party organization.

"In Portland he got married the second time. His first marriage was in 1939 in Terre Haute and he had three children with his first wife whom he deserted in 1942. She had died in 1944.

"In 1946 he left Portland with his second wife for Seattle. In my first talk with him on the 23rd of March he claimed that he had contacted

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[REDACTED]

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a comrade in Seattle but couldn't remember his name and he also said that he was not a member of the Seattle Party branch, however he remembered that the name of the District Party organizer was Huff. He also said that he was active in the civil liberties field whose leader was [REDACTED]. On March 29th he told me that he was an active member of a Party branch in Seattle and that he had given his transfer from Portland Oregon to the branch secretary named [REDACTED]. He also knew the editor of the Peoples' World whose name was Perry Petus.

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[REDACTED] remained in Seattle until 1951, doing carpentry for various contractors.

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"From 1949 to 1951 he went to Alaska for seasonal work and returned in the winter. He wasn't getting along well with his wife and finally deserted her, leaving for Alaska.

"In 1951 [REDACTED] decided to go to Europe because, he said, the F.B.I. was after him. When I asked him why the F.B.I. was after him he said that in 1949 and in 1950 there was a strike of building trades workers and that he and two others had advertised in the local newspaper the role of the Communist Party and the meaning of Marxism-Leninism. When I pressed him whether this was the cause for his decision to go to Europe since not one of them was arrested or persecuted, he said that he left because he was afraid that his wife would follow him to Alaska.

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"From Alaska he went to Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he waited for his passport for which he applied before leaving Alaska. There he came in touch with the Canadian Party Organizer Ross. From Winnipeg he left for Europe and went to

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London where he met a member of the British Communist Party Alein Keene whose name was given to him by Ross. He stayed in London three weeks from whence he left for Paris where he met a member of the French Communist Party whose name was given to him be Keene. He does not remember the name of the French comrade.

"In 1952 [] was in Denmark for three weeks from where he went to Sweden. He stayed in Sweden for 15 months, contacted there the Party office and met a comrade with whom he became friends. He worked only four weeks in Sweden as he said he still had money from the States. (He used to earn, he said, \$800 per month in Alaska.)

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"In Sweden the American embassy wrote to him asking that he return his passport. He wrote back and told them that he would rather lose his citizenship than return his passport. Not long after this the Swedish police told him to leave the country.

"He left Sweden in April 1953 for Denmark. There he met a Communist Party member by the name of James Hanson, a C.P. youth leader. In 1954 he met his present wife and married her legally stating that he received his divorce from his wife in the United States. From April 1953 to November 1955 he did not work except for two months, depending only on his wife's income. In the latter part of 1955, the American embassy in Denmark asked he to return his passport, which he refused to do. However after this he began to have trouble with the police. He said they were after him day and night, following him everywhere and he could not go outside by himself, fearing that he might be kidnapped.

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[REDACTED]

"He went to a lawyer about his problem by the name of Christian Hagnes. Because of the expiration of his passport in November 1955, the police suddenly left him alone.

"Through Hanson he learned that a tour to Hungary was being organized and decided to go there instead of returning to the United States. He and his wife bought their tickets to go via the Czechoslovak airlines. At the airport in Denmark they went through the customs officers, their passports were stamped and their luggage was taken into the plane. But the Danish secret police, he said, took their luggage from the plane and tried to persuade him and his wife to stay overnight in Denmark. His wife, however, spoke with the captain of the plane and told him that the police were after her husband and wanted to arrest him. The Czech plane captain made a telephone call and told them afterward that everything is all right since a Czech couple with a child who were to leave with the same plane decided that the husband would remain and she would fly only with the child. Thus [REDACTED] took his seat and Mrs. [REDACTED] that of the stewardess.

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"When they arrived in Prague they went to the headquarters of the Communist Party and asked for political asylum. From there they were sent to the Foreign Ministry who gave them permission to stay. They stayed two days in Hotel Europa, a month at a students' hostel and then the trade unions sent them to Hotel Flora where they lived for ten months at the expense of the trade union council. From Hotel Flora they moved to the apartment they now occupy which was given to them by his place of work.

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[REDACTED] Work Record in Czechoslovakia

"On February 13th this year, [REDACTED] received a letter informing him that he is discharged from

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his job because he had refused to carry out the work assigned to him. He had been working in this enterprise since 1956. He worked in the water economy and technical equipment for building districts.

"In 1959 sharp differences arose because he asked for better work and higher wages. The management used the language question in refusing his request. 'On social relations I was complimented for my good Czech but when it came to my work I was criticized.'

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"In 1960 [] wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia summarizing his entire experiences with the enterprise and delivered it to Kozman for he has acknowledged the receipt of the letter. Instead of answering this letter all his six letters were returned.

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[] worked in Washingtonova street until 1961. From there he was transferred to Podbaby and after working there three weeks he was sent to Perlova Street and worked there until Christmas 1964, and then sent to Narodni Trida, his last place of work. After working four months in Perlova Street he was told that he had to go back to Washingtonova Street. He asked not to be sent back and remained in Perlova.

"But the assistant director at Washingtonova, who wanted [] back and was very angry with him for not returning, through his influence [] was not given work for 9 months, from July 1961 to April 1962. All during this period he was reporting to work in the morning and instead of working was studying. All during these nine months he only filled in the hours for his salary but not the concrete assignment because he was told that they would take care of that part.

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"From April 1962 to the present he worked for comrade Rinosek. Because of language difficulties he was unable to take on direct contracts, but he had to work for other engineers. His wages up until 1962 were 1,630 crowns and from then on increased to 1,800 per month, due to a change in classification from independent constructor T.V.7 to classification T.V.9 projectant.

"Earlier he was sent to Brno and there some documents were stolen and he was accused of doing it, called back to Prague and a spy case made out of it. Several weeks later he was sent back to Brno and while working at the project the documents reappeared. As a result, the Institute was informed to this effect. [] refuted these charges in a letter to the Institute copies of which were sent to the Party here and the trade unions. A little later Kotzman informed him that the entire matter was closed and the security department was satisfied.

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[] leader at the institute 'is a very good engineer but is not a Party member, while directors are communists but not engineers.' His leader takes part in CMEA. One day when they were still good friends his leader told him that he wanted to get a higher position but that since he was not a Party member he feared that the Central Committee would not endorse him. He told this to [] in 1962. [] thinks that because his director did not get this position he made a scapegoat out of him.

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"(The ROH appointed a lawyer by the name of Sorokateh to handle [] case. Now this lawyer works for Cechofraget. For five years he has been handling all his problems.)

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"In September 1964 he said he received a provocative letter. He claims that this was timed during his two weeks vacation and that he would be dead when the vacation was over, according to the

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letter. I told [] that I received a similar letter and when I reported this to the police through the WFTU I was told that there is an old woman living near Prague who picks out foreign names from the telephone book and sends them such threatening letters headed by a drawing of a coffin and skull, and that it was not a provocative letter but sent by an old woman who is insane but harmless.

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"When [] returned from his vacation he asked his leader whether he had taken anything out of his cabinet and that whatever he had taken he should put it in writing. He said his leader flew off his handle and shouted at him that he was a disturbance in his life and that he would get rid of him.

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"Following this outburst, for a period of five months, he gave [] work but no consultation. He said he wasn't going to sit next to [] and everytime [] asked him questions he simply did not answer him. As a result [] developed the work that he was assigned in the opposite direction of the project the entire group was working on. This infuriated the entire group against [] and from then on the work he was doing was assigned to a woman and he was given draughting for the other engineers.

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[] refused to do this work for four months prior to his discharge. All during these four months he was reading novels. On February 8, 1965, [] wrote a letter to his superior, that is, after his discharge, telling him that he would perform the work assigned to him 'alongside and in cooperation of the collective as a matter of duty or I would do it also as a matter of compulsion'. He also sent a similar letter to the Director of the Institute.

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"The attorney handling his case advised him to take this matter to the court. The briefs were submitted on March 24th and the case might come up two or three months hence.

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"On March 29th, when I had the second talk with [] he told me the following: He was coming from the police headquarters where he had gone to renew his identification card. The police told him that they cannot extend it because there was a conflict between him and the enterprise he worked for. The police requested that he should bring a letter from the director asking why he was dismissed and that they wanted to talk with his lawyer.

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[] also told me that on February 10th there was a meeting in the office of the director of his institute at which all the key officials were present including the 'political representative' of the Party discussing his case. At this meeting the lawyer of the personnel department asked to see [] identification card. Therefore [] asked the director whether they were contemplating to terminate his residence in Czechoslovakia. The director answered in the negative and said that other state organs have to do with such matters and that as long as the relations between himself and these organs are in order no disruption will occur. Nevertheless, today at the police station he was told that a delegation of the enterprise was there informing them that [] did not know either the language or his work and that they had difficulty with him all these years.

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[] also said that in 1959 they had accused him of having relations with the American embassy - ending up with 9 months of no work but getting paid.

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"Then [] raised the question of economics. He said that he and his wife were unable to save much money due to her sickness and that he had enough for his rent for the coming month, but he didn't know where he would get money for running expenses and future rents, unless he got a job.

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"I asked him whether he had attended an engineering school and whether he had experience as a civil engineer. He said that his civil engineering experience he gained in the institute and he took a course at Charles University in mathematics as a listener, and a course in People's University one semester. However, he did not get any credit for either course. In addition, for the last five years he had studied cybernetics.

"At our first talk, in answer to my question whether he knew Winston in the States, he said no, but that Winston wrote three letters to the C.C. of the Czechoslovak C.P. on his behalf but never got an answer.

"Finally I asked him what he intended to do. He said the case was in the court, but he thought that he can no longer live in Czechoslovakia 'in view of the misery he went through in all these ten years.' When I reminded him that this country gave him asylum and took care of him for the first two years, gave him a job, a place in a hotel and then an apartment, did he consider that also misery? His reply was 'well we can subtract these two years and make it eight years.'"

It was also learned that subsequently [] had prepared a letter which he had sent to Antonin Novotny, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which complained of his mistreatment and requested that Novotny do something to help him.

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It was further learned by the source that [] efforts to obtain the assistance of the CP, USA, have been totally unsuccessful.

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APPENDIX

1

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

1. Cited as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years * * *." "American supporters include the left-wing unions within the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p.1.)

2. Cited as "Communist-dominated."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p.93, also p. 59.)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

- 11 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC-6
 ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
 FBI

Date: 5/7/65

Transmit the following in _____
 (Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
 (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "(First Name Unknown) Monseiro, Communist Party of Venezuela."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 27/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4)(RM)
 1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
 (5)

REC-34

19 MAY 10 1965

EX-105

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

85 JUN 3 1965

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was developed by CG 5824-S* during contacts in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 4/65; however, CG 5824-S* noted that he had also seen MONSEIRO in Moscow, 3/65. In addition to the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, CG 5824-S* advised that MONSEIRO had also transmitted to him regards from [redacted] a former Chicago resident who he had seen recently in Cuba. MONSEIRO also passed on regards from GERTRUDE MACHALDO, wife of EDUARDO MACHALDO, jailed CP of Venezuela leader, who is the sister of HELEN WINTER, NYC.

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CG 5824-S* further noted that on the day before he left Prague for the U.S., 4/22/65, some of the young Venezuelan group working with MONSEIRO came to him with a mailing list of liberal individuals and magazines in the U.S. They asked CG 5824-S* if he knew the names and the magazines and for an opinion of their current validity. The source noted that he checked this list of names over for them and found that it contained numerous ultra-left persons connected with the ROSEN Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) plus names from CP, USA and Socialist Labor Party, etc. Source stated he suggested to these young Venezuelans that they purge some of the ultra-left names, particularly those affiliated with the PLM, but they refused to do so.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 7, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~(FIRST NAME UNKNOWN) MONSEIRO,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA~~

*Russia
Rumania*

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during late April, 1965, as follows:

As of late April, 1965, there was then headquartering in Prague, Czechoslovakia, one (first name unknown) Monseiro, who is alleged to be a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party (CP) of Venezuela. He is reportedly one of two Political Bureau members of that Party who escaped from Venezuela and that the Venezuelan Government is now looking for him. He is also supposed to be one of the chief CP of Venezuela underground leaders. In Prague, he has close around him a number of young people from Venezuela whom he utilizes as his workers. Periodically, a courier arrives from Venezuela to bring Monseiro the latest news and information from that country. Such a courier, reportedly a professor of some sort, arrived in Prague, Czechoslovakia, by air on April 22, 1965. Monseiro travels to Moscow and also travels to other socialist countries. He attended the funeral of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Rumanian Workers Party, held in Bucharest in March, 1965.

Monseiro is of the opinion that many CPs, including the CP, USA, hold the wrong idea as to what path the CP of Venezuela is following in their struggles. According to Monseiro, the methods that they use are not strictly limited to armed warfare but instead they use every method including armed force. The struggle there, he says, is and will continue to be a many-sided affair. The Chinese, he claims, have no influence within the CP of Venezuela.

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excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-425091-4787
ENCLOSURE

(FIRST NAME UNKNOWN) MONSEIRO,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

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Monseiro also claims that the latest so-called plot and accompanying arrests by the government in Venezuela were faked and done by President Raul Leoni to get more United States aid. President Leoni is worried about those around him, including the military, and, as a result, uses these methods to get rid of his opposition, including the anti-communists.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ST-117C6

ROUTED TO FBI

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies
and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's
statement captioned. [redacted]
and [redacted] Dr.

The information appearing in the enclosed
informant's statement was orally furnished on 4/26 and 28/65
by CG 5824-S* to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

Pertinent information contained herein will be
disseminated separately, appropriately paraphrased, and
accompanied by the necessary cautionary statement.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
2 - Chicago
(1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-47)

WAB:sck
(6)

Classified by 71576
Exempt from GDS, Category 243
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC-34

13 MAY 10 1965

EX-103

~~TOP SECRET~~

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

77 MAY 19 1965

[redacted] b6 [redacted] ~~TOP SECRET~~
b7C
HIS
AND [redacted]

During March, 1965, a leading representative of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was in Moscow, USSR, and while there was in contact with Nikolai V. Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union. Among the matters discussed was the medical treatment being received by [redacted]

[redacted] The [redacted] are CP, USA members, who with their son had recently travelled to the USSR. [redacted] had suffered extensive injuries as a result of an automobile accident, including alleged injuries to his brain affecting his memory. Mostovets stated that all [redacted] were very sick and all three of them were then still in the hospital and that in addition [redacted] were not getting along too well in their personal relationship. Further, the Soviet medical authorities did not hold out much hope that they could do much to help any of the [redacted]

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Prior to his leaving Moscow, there were furnished to the CP, USA representative two letters from [redacted] which he wished mailed in the United States, together with a note to be delivered to Daniel Rubin, National Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA, requesting that the two letters be mailed. These letters were in fact mailed on April 29, 1965, in New York City. Set forth below are the texts of the note to Rubin and the two letters, both of which bore on the envelopes the return address [redacted] Avenue, New York 68, New York."

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a) Note

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"3/4/65

"Dear Danny,

"Please send the enclosed through normal US mail airmail to the address on the envelope. They are exceedingly important since they have to do with my job and with the case.

Classified by 7157

Exempt from GDS, Category 2 & 3

Date of Declassification Indefinite

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- 1 -

ENCLOSURE

100-4-1071 4788

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Things are going fine here and we'll be back sometime on or before the first of June. All three of us are being treated for about 10 different problems. Getting lots of math done.

"Sincerely,

"/s/ [redacted] b6 b7C

b) Envelope

b6
b7C

[redacted]
Attorney at Law
[redacted] US National Center
Denver, Colorado 80202

Letter

"Moscow, USSR
3/4/65

b6
b7C

[redacted] Attorney at Law
[redacted] US National Center
Denver, Colorado 80202

"Dear [redacted]

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"Well much water has gone under the dam since the last letter which I sent you and which I mailed about a week ago. Please reply to this one as soon as possible and send airmail so that we can have some way of knowing that they're getting through.

"Anyway the diagnosis has been almost completed and they've given their prognosis. It is favorable as far as it goes. They have taken care of or will take care of most of my and [redacted] physical problems and hopefully most of our mental problems in the month to a month and a half which we will stay at the hospital. The problem is that I have only very hazy memories of all of the last 2 years of mathematics and will have to relearn them. Luckily I have finally realized this and have started from the

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beginning of my college mathematics redoing all of it. When I go back to Madison I will continue the restudying process and with luck will have regained most of the ground before the beginning of the fall semester.

"That is about the size of it. With luck in a number of years I will be able to regain the ground. That is, if I can go to school. My fellowships are gone for at least several years - until I have if possible proved myself intellectually again.

"Aside from these worries and the innumerable shots (they have pumped 2 test tubes worth of stuff into me today) things are going pretty well. I am being treated for the following:

"acne (began to get much worse after the accident)

pain in left leg

partial paralysis of right side

physical therapy

loss of memory

extreme tension

"That's about all for now.

"Please write. Send airmail!"

[redacted]
Moscow 11-359
Central Clinical Hospital
Neurological Department
The Main Unit
The Ward N.385
Moscow, USSR."

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c) Envelope

Mr. [redacted]
701 Extension Building
Mathematics Dept
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

"3/4/65

"Dear Professor

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"In case this is the first letter you get from me because of some screw-up in the mails, I will again go over most of the stuff which was in the last letter mailed about a week and a half ago. Here goes:

"First of all we are in a 'rest home' (ie. a hospital which handles all chronic cases and cases which can not be cured by surgery) in the outskirts of Moscow. We have been here for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ weeks and will be here for about 4 more weeks. I am going to seven different specialists who will take care of most everything that ails me. I am being treated for my acne, nervousness, painful left foot, and partially paralyzed right side. I will soon be (unfortunately!!) adding another person to my list - a dentist. Since I haven't been to one since five months before the accident there is probably much that needs to be done.

"Anyway, in my 'spare time' of about 6-7 hours per day I am hard at work on mathematics. I seriously began the process of restudying it about 4 weeks ago and am now finished with the rereading (and doing $\frac{1}{2}$ of the problems) in Johnson & Kishemeister's Calculus, have read and done all of the problems in both of Halmos' Naive Set Theory and Kuratowski's Set Theory and Topology. Presently I am about half way through both Buck's Advanced Calculus and Rudin's Principles of Mathematical Analysis, doing all of the problems in both of these books. This takes me most of the way through a standard undergraduate program. In the next four weeks I will go through the rereading and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the problems in Coddington's Ordinary Differential Equation, Jacobson's Lectures in Abstract Algebra Volumes 1 and 2, Kelly's General Topology, and most of my classroom notes which I have with me.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"That brings me to the following: as you said that I could have my job back when I came back to Madison and talked earlier about the rate of 270 dollars per month I would very much appreciate it if you would rehire me on or about June 2 at the rate of 270 dollars per month or as close to that as possible. If I could have that sort of a situation I would be able to go back to school (Graduate School) in September. This would give me enough time to sit in a number of courses over the summer and to check to make sure I can take the courses. At any rate I will be back in Madison sometime between May 15 and June (and will effectively be counting on that job.)

"The insurance case will come up in about a year. After that we will have enough money to pay off our debts. There is no rush for they don't really exist unless the insurance case goes against us - an unlikely prospect since our lawyers are three of the best in the southwest.

"Please write and send forms to the following address:

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[Redacted]
Moscow P-359
Central Clinical Hospital
Neurological Department
The Main Unit
Ward N.385
Moscow, USSR

"We won't be here long so I will assume I have my job even if the forms don't catch up with me. I'll come in as soon as I get back to Madison (sometime before June 1). Please send all letters airmail.

"Thank you,

"Sincerely,

"/s/ [Redacted]

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~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: MAY 7 1965

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled "Symposium on 'Role of Communist Parties in Highly Developed Capitalist Countries,' Prague, Czechoslovakia, March, 1965."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 4/26, 28; 5/4/65.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

CLOSURE

REC-34

18 MAY 10 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

77 MAY 19 1965

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* has advised that participating in the symposium sponsored by the "World Marxist Review," held 3/16-18/65, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, as delegates from the U.S. were himself and HYMAN LUMER, a member of the National Board of the CP, USA. He also advised that there were additional observers at this meeting who took absolutely no part therein from the socialist countries. The meeting itself was not considered too successful because of the limited number of participants which CG 5824-S* noted resulted from the fact that many European Parties were not given sufficient advance notice. The lack of advance notice in connection with this meeting resulted from the fact that the "World Marxist Review" felt it could not set a date because of the possibility it might interfere with the meeting scheduled to commence in Moscow, USSR, 3/1/65. Until the actual adjournment of the 3/1/65 meeting in Moscow, there had been the possibility that it could have extended over a considerable period of time and therefore the lag by the "World Marxist Review" in setting the date for their symposium.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

MAY 7, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
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A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

During the latter part of 1964, the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia, sent out a call to a number of Communist Parties (CPs) in capitalist countries suggesting their participation in a symposium or round-table discussion to be held at the Prague headquarters of that publication on the topic of "The Role of Communist Parties in Highly Developed Capitalist Countries." The date suggested for the opening of this symposium in Prague was March 16, 1965.

In preparation for this symposium, but prior to its convening, there was drawn up an "approximate list of questions for the round-table meeting" which had been suggested and discussed by the various CPs planning to attend. This "approximate list of questions for the round-table meeting" read as follows:

1. The role of the Communist Parties in promoting the anti-monopoly struggle in the present-day conditions of high business activity and industrial growth.

How does the high level of business activity and industrial boom affect the position and militancy of the working class?

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Group 1
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declassification~~

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(The effects of the scientific and technological revolution, of the relatively high rates of industrial development, automation, etc.)

How do the new forms of state regulation influence the position of the working people and the conditions of their struggle?

(The significance of the state regulation of labour relations, the wages level, the so-called "income policy," etc.)

In what spheres are the conflicts between the interests of the working people and the monopolies most strikingly revealed? What mass movements arise in this connection?

What basic tasks confront the Communist Parties in the matter of promoting mass activity in this democratic struggle?

(The connection between the political and trade union struggle; democratic rights at the enterprises; problems of the democratic utilization of the media of mass information, especially radio and television; democratization of the electoral systems, and other general democratic demands.)

The relationship between the national tasks of the democratic struggle and the possibilities offered by the consolidation of world socialism.

2. Development of the policy of unity of the Communist Parties and the strengthening of their leading role.

Attitude of the Communists to the mass movements.

The relationship between the positions of the Communists in the mass movement and their political influence.

Attitude to Social Democracy.

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Attitude to other Left forces.

The role of anti-communism and its new forms.

What is the special contribution which the Communist Parties are called upon to make to the struggle of the working class and the people generally, and which explains the need for Communist Parties?

3. Problems of Party building.

The influence of the new conditions on Party work and on the organizational forms of Party activity. The development of Party activity at the present stage. Changes in the style of work.

Organizational forms of the connections between the Communist Parties and the masses.

The content and forms of the ideological work of the Communist Parties.

The role and activity of the Party branches. The attitude of the rank and file members to the Party.

As originally suggested, the above-noted symposium opened in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during the afternoon of March 16, 1965, with a brief session followed by full sessions on March 17 and 18, 1965. Participants in this symposium were present from CPs representing the following countries: Austria, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States.

Set forth below, session by session, is the essence of the proceedings:

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March 16, 1965

Eugene Frantzov, Editor-in-Chief of the "World Marxist Review," and a member of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union, as host, was the first speaker. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

Welcome.

Today, Marxism is developing and growing. An example of this is the establishment of AIMS (American Institute for Marxist Studies) in the United States. (A documentation of AIMS appears in the appendix section attached hereto.) Ten years ago, the establishment of such an organization would have been inconceivable. Yet, even today, there is a wave of anti-communism in that country, but Marxism and the CP work and they deal with problems. They are connected with the masses and all of this goes on in the citadel of imperialism.

We must learn that class collaboration solves nothing but that class struggle does and that it solves some problems of history. It determines the course of history and works for economic betterment and democracy. We must also realize that state monopoly capitalism is both an economic and political form and that the struggle against it assumes a two-sided character. We do not have to copy or repeat. The working class movement has collective experience and creative Marxism-Leninism from which to draw.

In regard to procedures for our meeting, I propose we hold our sessions from 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. The meeting should be relatively short and, therefore, I suggest we close our discussion by the end of March 18th. As to the chairmanship of the various sessions, I think it would be best if we selected these alphabetically by country and therefore we should have L. Aarons, Vice Chairman, CP of Australia, act as the first chairman of this first session.

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First Session

L. Aarons, Chairman

At this point, Ib. Noerlund, leading member of the CP of Denmark, suggested that the purposes of the discussions which were to follow should be practical as to form. He stated it was necessary to sift ideas and yet remain united.

Erwin Shilling, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Austria, next spoke, suggesting that the discussions which were to follow stick to point number two on the proposed list of questions previously drawn up for discussion. At the same time he recommended that the other matters raised on this proposed list be combined and discussed jointly.

Hyman Lumer, a member of the National Board, CP, USA, then commented that he felt each point on the proposed list of questions was important but that because of time limitations, the extent of discussions would have to be limited.

Shilling then followed with a discussion, the essence of which is set forth below:

The Austrian CP is small and the masses do not understand us or follow us. In recent elections, the CP of Austria has had no victories. Even where the masses see some good in our CP, they do not think that our Party can lead them to victory.

Traditionally, Austria has had a two-party system, one a capitalist party and the other a socialist party. In reality, there exists an electoral monopoly and even the second party is a bulwark against progress.

Our Party is surrounded by a wall of prejudice emanating from radio, television, etc. Yet, we must reach the masses and explain our position. Sometimes we have found it easier to reach

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the Catholic masses than to discuss with the social democrats. Although there are three socialist countries bordering Austria, the workers do not grasp this fact.

Regardless of all, however, there are some favorable circumstances. For example, the workers do have the right to participate in management of some industry. Many of the most important industries are nationalized--metal, power, chemical, etc. Even some banks have been nationalized. Thirty percent of our workers are employed in nationalized enterprises. While this is favorable, it does not mean that we can reform capitalism. We must struggle against it and destroy it, even if peaceful means are used.

This ended the first session.

March 17, 1965

Second Session

Erwin Shilling, Chairman

Hyman Lumer opened by discussing briefly the situation in the United States in relation to the position of the CP.

Ib. Noerlund next took the floor and announced that he had a letter from the Norwegian comrades noting their reason for not being present. The Norwegian comrades felt that they did not have enough time to prepare for this meeting and suggested that in the future they be given earlier notification.

Noerlund then delivered a report, the essence of which was as follows:

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In regard to those Parties in capitalist countries which are not yet mass Parties. These Parties have many common problems, though some may be on a minor scale. Some of these problems are objective. For example, cold war pressures pushed many small Parties into the background and only the big CPs succeeded because they had deep roots. Mass work, when carried on, results in influence for the Parties. We know this as a fact for this is what happened in our country during the resistance period. We also saw this happen in 1959 when we grew in the trade union movement and had an electoral increase of seven percent. The Belgian Party found that they had similar experiences. We do not believe that we are doomed as a Party simply because we can show no achievements at this time.

There are also subjective reasons why CPs in capitalist countries have not grown. One of these is the deep-rooted weakness in individual Parties. But the failure to grow still is mainly due to objective causes.

The economic activity which has been going on a continued high level was not foreseen by us and this has resulted in an illusion that capitalism is strong and not doomed as we have often said. However, big profits and prosperity does not always mean that capitalism has stabilized. Monopolies even make concessions in an effort to avoid class struggle and strikes.

The Marxist theory of labor value has some answers to our problems. Man is still the center of political economy. In Denmark we cannot say that our chief problem is "hunger." The people's chief complaint is that they are "tired." This gives us part of our answer--the exploitation of the working man. I agree with what Comrade Lumer had said concerning wages. Wages are less important in our country than other working conditions. Labor has intensified and leaves its imprint on all life in Denmark--on culture, on sports, on entertainment, on industry, etc. Capitalist exploitation misuses the people. This can be a new departure for advances in the class struggle.

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This concluded the second session.

Third Session

William Kashtan, General Secretary,
CP of Canada, Chairman

Noerlund continued with his remarks, the essence of which was as follows:

Now, on the matter of new forms of class struggle. If the Parties can develop these, they will enhance their image among the workers.

In regard to the matter of the struggle for democracy in the plants. Nationalization is not one of our demands now. If we propose a program of nationalization, similar to that which they have in Austria, we would be charged with radicalism. This does not mean, however, that we wait for a crisis before presenting certain demands. However, we must have demands that mobilize the masses, even in periods of prosperity. It is most important for us to consider the democratic traditions of the Danish working class. While socialist economy does exert pressure on the capitalist economy in Austria, there is no automatic influence of the socialist system upon our system in Denmark. Axel Larson, the former head of our Party who defected and now heads the Socialist Party, accommodates opportunism when he claims that there is no socialism in the world generally. We cannot, as in the past, expect every fraternal Party to copy one or another nor do as they do in the Soviet Union.

In regard to competition of the socialist and capitalist systems. One point we must keep in mind in this connection is that the youth these days have their own criteria of what is good and what is bad in our society. This applies equally to the youth in both the capitalist and socialist systems.

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Today, we cannot speak of figures or statistics merely, when we are comparing systems. We must remember that there is scientific management in capitalist industry and that there are other social factors, including democracy--management and the running of society or its industries and governments--involved. While there are some material standards for comparison, it is not enough to merely talk of overcoming and beating the United States.

The next speaker was L. Aarons, and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

Australia is a continent of eleven million square kilometers with only ten million people, of which aborigines and immigrants total one million. The large majority of people live in six cities where there are two million workers in industry, one million employed as office workers, and 176,000 agricultural workers. Australia is an industrial-agrarian country. It has relatively big industry but depends on the export of agricultural products like wool, wheat, etc.

Monopolies control all of its industries, consisting in part of one complex in steel, and one in chemical. Our big problem is to estimate the role of foreign monopoly. In the past, we had oversimplified this and concentrated on the United States monopolies. Now, however, we have concluded that 65 Australian companies are the biggest monopolies followed by Great Britain and then the United States. In Australia, United States capitalism features aggressiveness and concentration on extracting our mineral wealth and taking over industry. Since Australia's colonial power depends upon United States power, because of its geographic location in being surrounded by the liberation movement in Southeast Asia, it is fearful and, therefore, depends upon United States imperialism. This dependence, however, is not without some contradictions.

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The present government in power is a coalition of two capitalist parties, the Liberal Party and the Country Party. Actually, the Labor Party is the largest in the country. It receives forty to forty-five percent of the vote and up to the time of World War II received sixty percent of the vote. The Labor Party is an opportunist party that arose out of the trade union movement. A vast majority of the Party is made up of industrial workers and intellectuals with some farmers. The task of our CP is to change the ideology of those who follow the capitalist-minded Party leaders. Presently, there is a split in the Labor Party organization.

There is also in Australia a Roman Catholic party, the Democrats. Twenty-eight percent of the country is Catholic and they carry enough votes to break up sure victories of the Labor Party.

In the CP of Australia we have 5,200 members. The government had tried to outlaw our Party but a referendum has prevented this. In the past, we have suffered losses due to our sectarian policies in the trade union movement; however, after 1954 we changed this. Now, we are working to unite the left wing Labor Party and the trade union leaders. We now seek to share the leadership of these trade unions instead of grabbing it. Many unions are influenced by the CP of Australia. In the National Trade Union Council we have three CP representatives plus two from the left that work with us most of the time.

As far as the electoral strength of the CP of Australia, we never get more than three percent. Our Party size is a factor in this vote. Our Party is, however, building step by step and we consider ideology most important. We feel it is basic to prove to the Australians that the CP is a national party--native party. This does not mean, however, that we must neglect internationalism or the fighting for other Communist Parties. It does mean, however, we must raise daily demands that will be accepted by the people.

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Of all capitalist countries in the world, Australia is most subservient to United States imperialism. A look at the map shows why. Not all the bombers of the United States will stop this--that is, to protect the national interests in Australia while people around us get their freedom.

Our main issue today is the unity of the working class. We do not speak of unity with a few leaders but with the masses. We must also recognize that the Labor Party is made up of workers and that we must unite with the most progressive and left elements. This will strengthen our ties in a future course of action.

When the Labor Party both in 1960 and 1964 lost the elections, the tendency of their leaders was to move more to the right. Some sectarian comrades thought that the more they moved to the right, the better. But we are against it and tried to influence the Labor Party to prevent such a move to the right. We prepared a pamphlet on this. Now, the CP proposes a move to the left by the Labor Party and the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition. Lenin was for a coalition even though the revolution later took a different path.

We, in the Australian CP, feel we must do more of those things set forth in the 81 Party Statement. We must look at the social democrats as our class brothers. We must work to become an electoral CP and seek to raise our percentage of the vote from three to ten percent. This would do away with the anarcho-syndicalist sentiments still in our ranks to the effect that "all politicians are crooks." One of the demands now being made in Australia is for the creation, where there is no such Australian shipping line today, of a government-owned line. This is an example of a demand calling for the merger of national capital with the interest of the working class.

We also feel it is most important for the world movement to study economic cycles. We cannot just hope that there will be another 1929 crash.

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On the participation in every aspect of life. We feel we need to thrash out our concept on art. We must overcome the mechanical, narrow, and dogmatic aspects of art and literature, and we cannot do a repeat of Khrushchev in regard to his criticism of art.

This ended the third session.

Fourth Session

Ib. Noerlund, Chairman

At this point, William Kashtan spoke and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

It is too bad that more Parties are not present since we are seeking to deal with such complex problems. However, since this is an exploratory session, we will consider it merely as a beginning. We believe there are many complex problems that are common to all and we hope to be able to gain something from this discussion.

Why have some Parties become mass Parties and why do some stand still? Perhaps we have not found out how to work in objective situations. In Canada there has been a big economic expansion in the post-World War II period. There has been relatively high employment and the capitalist class has been forced to give concessions. There has been important gains made by the workers. They are stronger and this proves that we do not need crises to gain but rather the reverse. Workers have become more conscious even though they have not become more revolutionary. The majority of the workers still support the capitalist party.

How then does a revolutionary party work in a non-revolutionary situation, especially when workers do not fight for or want a change? Conditions differ in many countries.

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When Comrade Lumer says that the workers in the United States do not see a need for a CP or revolutionary party, this is something to think about. Why is this? The second problem is of a subjective nature. That is, how do these workers view our problem? Perhaps they do not see us as a national party. Then why do the workers still turn to the social democrats? The workers apparently see a distorted image of our Party.

The demands of our Party must be based on the national interests of our people. But if a Party wants to be a force, it must put forth demands for economic democracy and shares in determining the country's economic development. Our trade unions ask for this and we support it.

Why should the workers in the United States and Canada want socialism when at the present it seems to them that we hold out less? We must be frank. The political situation in our country is fluid and a lot of the developments are spontaneous.

In Canada they impose upon us the role of the United States trade union bureaucracy. They even use the Landrum-Griffin Law; that is, the law which prohibits communists from holding office to keep CP members out of the trade union leadership. This is because many of the unions are controlled from the United States.

A political party in legal conditions must be legal.

Here ended the fourth session.

March 18, 1965

Fifth Session

Hyman Lumer, Chairman

At this point (first name unknown) Ohman, a leading representative of the CP of Sweden took the floor. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

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I have regrets that only a small number of Parties are here for these discussions. There are main problems, common for all of us, despite the differing circumstances which exist in our countries.

In Sweden we have had a Social Democratic Government since 1932 and a trade union movement united but dominated by Social Democrats. There is no unemployment in Sweden and, in fact, Sweden imports up to 100,000 laborers now. The standard of living is relatively high and advanced. However, fifteen families control the main wealth and industry. From this, you can see objective conditions therefore are not so favorable.

In the history of our Party we have had three splits. The most dramatic occurred in 1929 when the right wing took over the leadership and the publishing house. During the first half of the 1930's our Party was isolated. Our main task was then to liquidate the opportunist leadership of the Party and we succeeded. In the 1940's the Party experienced an upsurge and as of 1947 ten percent of the electorate was for the CP. Then the cold war set in and this created very difficult conditions for us. The peaceful transition in Czechoslovakia was utilized by the reactionaries against us. Our vote dropped to 146,000 by 1948. Communist influence declined and so did our membership. So the question then facing us was how to attract young people to the Party.

The Twentieth Congress of our Party caused a turnover in it. It was held as an open congress with the press and radio present. This action was taken to avoid rumors and lies. The Congress proposed the slogan of "Socialist Renovation." As a result, we elected a new Chairman and had a completely new composition of our leadership.

The political questions now being placed in the forefront is the struggle against Sweden monopoly capital. This is being placed in a most concrete manner. Other daily demands are being raised concerning the cost of living, inflation, etc.

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Our Party is demanding that the working class be allowed to participate in the setting of prices and also the lowering of taxes which are very high in Sweden. We are also pushing demands for housing where the shortage is serious. There are 150,000 people in Stockholm waiting for apartments and of these 50,000 to 60,000 are young people. We are also demanding a cut in the working day from 35 to 30 hours, and this is being supported by the trade unions. Other demands that we have placed include a call for the extension of democracy and this is also supported by the trade unions. Another issue we have placed is that relating to the location of industry. This arose as an issue because of the monopoly concentrations in Stockholm, Malmo, and Goteborg. We raise the question of the need for additional centers of industry in the North. Our Party for a long time has led this campaign for industrialization of the North where the raw materials, such as iron and lumber, are available and because there is an available labor supply. We insist on government intervention in this matter. The Social Democrats were not for it and, as a result, suffered defeat in the North. Following the defeat, the Social Democrats approved some budgets allocating money for the North.

All I want to do here is state that this practical policy of the CP of Sweden has led to success. In 1952, 160,000 Swedes voted for us and in 1964, 220,000 Swedes voted for the CP, and we gained three new seats in the Riksdag.

This new growth of influence for our Party opens up new possibilities. The experience of our Party shows that even in advanced capitalist countries, a CP can succeed. Prosperity is not a bourgeoisification of the working class; on the contrary, the workers want more.

I agree with Comrade Noerlund that there is an intensification of the exploitation of the working class. Here, I will raise a few problems. First of all, dogmatism is a serious obstacle to our CPs. The legacy of the past and the cult of the personality has had its influences, but we are wrong to blame everything on this. We must review our own shortcomings first of all, and this in most cases we have not done. Dogmatism

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is expressed in various forms. It is expressed in the passive form of work by the CP and the Party's attitude to trade union and other mass organizations. We cannot see a revolution in Sweden without the participation of the Social Democrats and broad masses of the people. We have no answers to many problems. We would be happy, however, to discuss and to listen to others.

Has anything happened to the role of the state since Marx and Engels? In countries where there are strong democratic traditions and where the state is in the hands of the socialists, will the workers accept the statement, "The state is the oppressor of the people?" While the general theory of Marx is correct, of course, there must be some changes in form. It would be good if we studied this question internationally.

Then, on the proletarian internationalism. In the 1920's our main task was to defend the Soviet Union. Now, it is obvious that the USSR can defend itself. However, today close ties with the Soviet Union are utilized by our enemies. How do we solve this? I have no answer. It is clear, however, that we should objectively examine the situation in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We should not conceal their difficulties as they march to socialism. Not everything happening or achieved in these countries is perfect. I would like to call attention to one point in Comrade Togliatti's memorandum in which he said, "Political discussion on socialist countries would be most useful for them."

We know that many comrades do not want to talk about this but I think we must. This is more than a theoretical question, such as peaceful transition to socialism. This we have not discussed, such as what are the stages in the transition and why it will be different in many countries. I am speaking only of the main direction and aim, just posing this problem.

What we must also look at then is the inner life of the Party. We should see to it that a greater number of Party workers participate in deciding upon policy. This, of

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course, will also depend upon organizational structure. In Sweden we have many "supporting members", not sympathizers, who pay annual dues and can attend meetings but have no vote. We have 100,000 members but only little over 200,000 voters. We think we can turn these people into real Party members. I want to point out that I am speaking only of Sweden and not other capitalist countries.

Is Lenin's thesis of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry basic, true, or valid today? In Sweden 20 farms disappear each month. By 1970 only 25% of the people will live in the countryside. At the same time there is a growing number of office workers, even in the countryside, and these people do not live much better than the average worker. Some of them belong to trade unions. They represent half of the working population of Sweden. Do you think it is more important for us to attract these masses or the five percent of the population who will be farmers in 1970?

At this point Frantzov took the floor and announced that information had been received of a successful space launch by the USSR.

Ib. Noerlund then took the floor and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

Yesterday, we posed some questions, but we need to do more and attempt to tackle some solutions. There is some common work that we can agree on and jointly do. Perhaps old methods of solution are not enough and we need to find new ones.

Subjective causes can be responsible for the existence of both big and small Parties. Perhaps a big Party, by itself, generates mass movements because they are mass Parties. But we know that mass movements in themselves do not always lead to bigger influence of the CP.

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PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

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I disagree with Comrade Bill Kashtan on "May be our CPs are dying." On the remarks of Comrade Togliatti about "small Parties with no influence," I do not believe this is true. We can be small but still have decisive influence. For example, take the events of 1953 in Denmark when we helped defeat American bases in our country.

Unity is very important and the CP can influence the breadth of a mass movement. We can show the disproportion between our trade union influence and lack of political influence. We have many friends in all kinds of circles but they are not for the Party as an organization. We have relations with the Social Democrats and even with the Socialist Peoples Party which split from us in 1958 and is headed by Larson. We have twice their membership but they get five times our vote. On international questions, they, the Socialist Peoples Party, usually are against unity of action and Larson is even anti-communist. But still we have good relationship with the rank and file in this Party. We must admit that many workers and other people do not consider our Party as an indispensable necessity.

I want to emphasize that in Denmark, to us, democracy means the activity of the masses. Here, in Denmark, it is a special kind and the masses are not really their own masters. The Social Democrats, even the left variety, fear mass activity and movements.

On the role of the working class. This is basic and no matter what alliances, the workers can lead and this is of decisive importance. The communists are the soul of the working class and the people in the world today. If it were not for the CP, the people would not know where the world was heading.

The development of our national policy is very important. We have made big efforts in this direction. During World War II we were the only national party. After the war we proposed the only national foreign policy in the interests of the whole nation. Our enemies say that a national

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

policy is antiquated and we object to and oppose this. We in the Danish Party have always shown that national solidarity is not harmful to the nation. We must now show that a socialist world is a positive thing and good for the world and our nation.

We can freely admit that there are differences in the standard of living between capitalist and socialist countries. At the same time the socialist world is showing solutions for their many problems. No doubt the Denmark housing situation is better than that in the USSR but the dimensions and the scope of the USSR building program dwarfs all others. Perhaps we should show in a better way that this big thing is possible on such a scale only in a socialist country.

Opportunism is a "temptation." Can we forget Larson's left socialists' attack on the socialist world? Were they not helped to popularize this by the bourgeoisie because of their anti-communism? Is it possible to show the people how to achieve peace without taking into account the socialist world?

May be Comrade Ohman is correct in that we may have made mistakes in defending the Soviet Union. Some people complain that the Soviet Union changes the names of cities and other things without a political explanation. Well, we could ask for better explanations and consideration, but at the same time we should not lower our level of discussion to this petty level as there are more important issues. Ideology and our loyalty to it is more, if not most, important. We must remember that the open anti-communism of McCarthy has been defeated but not eliminated. It is still being presented in a more refined form.

Today, the bourgeois does more than "scold us," they raise questions now that require answers, particularly their use of Chinese arguments. But the Chinese theories are not accepted by the people but they do have an effect on our Party. We need some positive answers.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

I agree with Comrade Shilling that we can develop or work out some new and good answers on peace, for example.

What can we get out of this discussion? I agree that it is only a preliminary one. The next one must be better prepared for and perhaps we should begin this preparation now.

The next speaker was Nigel Morgan, a member of the National Committee, CP of Canada, who explained that the Canadian Party emphasizes the struggle of the workers by utilizing slogans relating to unemployment and poverty. He also pointed out that the Canadian Party supported the national struggle against United States domination and supported the French-Canadians who fight for national freedom and equality.

This ended the fifth session.

Sixth Session

(First name unknown) Ohman, Chairman

The next speaker was William Kashtan and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

A few remarks to add to what was said yesterday. We have still not given any answers as to what are the road-blocks to spreading the influence of our Parties or how to build our Parties. Theoretical generalizations are not enough. In the 1930's we had a monopoly in the leading of the masses but today the leadership of the trade unions is in the hands of reformists. Their demands today are not much different, except in degree, to those which we make. As to state and monopoly capitalism, I agree with Comrade Lumer it is an effort to save capitalism and to mitigate the contradictions in the capitalist system. They make concessions to the workers quite consciously in order to save the capitalist system and regulate the economy. If that is so, what then is the role of the CP in this system?

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Up to now, state monopoly capital has been able to influence the economic cycles. How long this will continue is hard to say. I won't say how long. But we must admit we must work in these circumstances.

The Chinese say that the workers in the Western countries are corrupt. If this is so, we could not hope to win the workers or could we do so if we accepted the revisionists' ideas that "all is well." If either one of these positions is true, then there would be no need for a CP. Or, some others say that the workers movement ebbs and flows and that now we are at ebb and, therefore, only propaganda work can be done. We do not agree with this but neither can we accept the idea that there are no problems. The Chinese say we are reformist Parties, but they are wrong because our daily demands that we put forth are important and lead to a higher stage of struggle. The area for Parties to work on in capitalist countries is that of democratic demands such as the right to work, the right for training for a job, and the right to a higher job. Human rights have priority over management rights and this is particularly important in this period of automation.

Some say "You have no future as a Party." We need the Party and its philosophy stands.

The next speaker was Erwin Shilling and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

Notwithstanding the conditions under which our Parties work, we do have common problems. It is wrong for the comrades to think that they will leave this meeting and be able to turn their little Parties into big mass Parties. Anti-communism has lost its force, especially among the progressive Catholics and some left socialists, although there are still differences there. At times, on the question of peace, it is easier to speak to a Catholic than to a socialist minister.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

The dangers of our Party fading away are not great and it is not so. It is incorrect to say that if we do not win elections, we fade away and are of no consequence. Is there a necessity for a Marxist Party? There are some people who pose this question in our Party and they are wrong.

On the question of nationalization. In our country it came in two stages. First the period of the Soviet occupation and secondly through nationalization of former German property. This gave us an advantage in Austria and the workers would not return this property.

On internationalism. We are always charged with being a "Russian Party." But this is dying out and is not as forceful as in the past. We are not concerned with the Chinese attacks and they mean little. The important question is that of peace and the Chinese are damaging the cause of peace because of the doubts they are bringing about concerning communism and peace.

One thing I must say is that the communist movement does not get enough information. I do not know what is happening in the world movement. There must be some additional exchange of opinions and not merely through magazines.

On relations to the socialist camp. From Austria it is a one-hour drive to a socialist country. The bourgeois in Austria are more afraid of their ideas and influences coming into our country than they are of the Red Army. We have made many mistakes though and always in the past have praised the Soviet Union.

Here ended the sixth session.

Seventh Session

L. Aarons, Chairman

At this point, Frantzov took the floor and spoke and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

From our discussions held here we have learned we must deal with the problem of anti-communism and expose this. I am sure our magazine has gained from the discussions and we will keep these ideas suggested in mind at all times. In regard to social democracy, we have seen how we must decide to handle and deal with it. We have been studying many problems, especially new forms of struggle against new methods of exploitation. May be the Parties can do this and we at the magazine can issue material, unofficially and in pamphlet form. May be some of the problems which have been enumerated at this meeting have some limited significance for the Parties who have participated here. May be at our next meeting, if such can be arranged, we can bring in elaborations of the numerous ideas discussed.

At this point there was a discussion between various individuals including Hyman Lumer, Ib. Noerlund, William Kashtan, and L. Aarons concerning what was to be done with the material which had been discussed. Comrade Lumer for one recommended that it not be published. Others recommended that perhaps excerpts might be made ready for some type of publication. Finally, Comrade Frantzov suggested that the individuals who had made speeches here be sent transcripts on which they could make corrections and deletions and that perhaps at a later date they might print, in some brief form, a synopsis of the various presentations.

This ended the symposium.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SYMPOSIUM ON "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN
HIGHLY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,"
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MARCH, 1965

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APPENDIX

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the CP, USA, of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on history, science, physics, archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 15, 1964, that, as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

5/11/65

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. Linton

1 - Mr. Shaw

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 4/30/65, captioned "Nikolai Mikhailovich Talanov, IS - R (SMUN-KGB).

Relet requested authority to channelize Solo information to pertinent Soviet substantive case files which are not afforded the same security as that given the Solo case file.

In view of the continuing need to afford the extremely sensitive Solo operation maximum security, your request is denied.

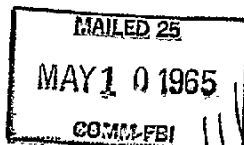
1 - 105-40818 (Nikolai Talanov)

WGS:pah
(6)

NOTE:

Relet states that in order to efficiently correlate information on Soviets involved in the Solo operation it is necessary to channelize information under the Solo caption to substantive files of these Soviets. New York feels it would be impractical to afford the substantive files of these Soviets the same security as afforded the Solo case, which is maintained with the informant files. In accordance with instructions issued by the Bureau, information under the Solo caption is not to be channelized to any other file unless the file is afforded the same security given the Solo file. This procedure is followed by the SOG as well as by Chicago and New York. The inconvenience of this procedure has to be resolved in favor of affording the very vital Solo operation maximum security.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



REC-29

EX 109

19 MAY 11 1965

65 MAY 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/4/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

When CG 5824-S* returned from the 18th Solo Mission, 4/26/65, he brought back with him an invitation from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) for the Communist Party (CP), USA to send several leading Party veterans to the German Democratic Republic to participate in a veterans celebration scheduled for 5/7-8/65, in East Berlin, German Democratic Republic. The SUPG stated they would pay the travel costs and living expenses for such delegates to Germany. This information was relayed to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, during the course of a meeting in New York City on Wednesday, 4/28/65. At the time, HALL made no comment regarding possible intention to select anyone to go to the German Democratic Republic.

During the late PM of 5/3/65, CG 5824-S* advised SA RICHARD W. HANSEN that at 10:00 PM he received a long distance telephone call from HALL, who was then in Los Angeles, and who, according to HALL, was then with DOROTHY HEALEY.

HALL opened the conversation by noting that he was expecting to see CG 5824-S* on the West Coast in May and told him he would be waiting for some possible contact in Seattle. Next HALL informed CG 5824-S* that he wanted BEN DOBBS to go to Europe and he suggested that CG 5824-S*

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 (1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-46)

RWH:sck
 (6)

REC-29

100-428091-4791
10 MAY 11 1965Approved: *m j / 07*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 12 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

prepare him immediately for this trip. If necessary, HALL stated, CG 5824-S* should consider coming to the West Coast for this purpose. HALL stated that DOBBS was a much decorated Party veteran and would make a good representative at "both celebrations." In this latter remark HALL was obviously referring to the veterans celebration in the German Democratic Republic, and also to a later scheduled meeting in Moscow, USSR, mid-May, which will celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the end of World War II and victory over fascism. HALL advised further that DOBBS was prepared to travel. At this point CG 5824-S* indicated to HALL that it would almost be impossible for him to get to Los Angeles for the purpose noted, but that he might be able to handle it from Chicago. HALL then suggested that CG 5824-S* contact HEALEY in Los Angeles and work out the DOBBS arrangements with her.

The source further advised SA HANSEN during the early AM of 5/4/65 that he would telephone HEALEY early this AM and have her instruct DOBBS to proceed to Chicago. In Chicago, CG 5824-S* would brief DOBBS on the details of the SUPG veterans celebration as well as the details of the 20th Anniversary celebration in Moscow. At the time CG 5824-S* was unaware as to whether DOBBS had a U.S. passport but knew that he had no visas. He felt that if DOBBS had the passport he would prepare a credential for him addressed to the Central Committees of the CP of the Soviet Union, the CP of Czechoslovakia, and the SUPG, in the name of HALL, and with his, CG 5824-S*'s, initials wherein he would request cooperation to admit DOBBS to the various countries and in arranging attendance at scheduled events. CG 5824-S* further stated that he would seek direct air transportation for DOBBS from Chicago to some city like London, Paris, or Zurich, and from such point DOBBS could proceed into Prague.

Subsequently, on this same date, CG 5824-S* advised that he had spoken to DOROTHY HEALEY at approximately 9:00 AM, Chicago time. At this time she advised that as of late 5/3/65 DOBBS still had not received his passport although he had applied. She promised to call CG 5824-S* during the late PM of 5/4/65 and advise regarding DOBBS' latest preparations for travel. HEALEY was furnished with the telephone numbers

CG 134-46 Sub B

in Chicago, both home and office, for JACK KLING and these were to be passed to BEN DOBBS so that he could contact CG 5824-S* when he arrived.

Following CG 5824-S*'s conversation with HEALEY, the Chicago Office on 5/4/65 telephonically furnished this information to the New York Office for transmittal to NY 694-S*. CG 5824-S* requested that NY 694-S* attempt to get a message through to the Russians advising of HALL's decision to send DOBBS to the German Democratic Republic and Soviet Union and to advise the CP of Czechoslovakia and SUPG of the travel plans HALL had for this "much decorated" Party veteran, DOBBS. The Russians were also to be advised that DOBBS would carry a credential of the CP, USA and that he is an old-time Party member, who for many years was Organizational Secretary and now holds the position of Executive Secretary, Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles. DOBBS was also to be identified as a member of the National Committee. New York was further advised that the Russians should be also requested to have a visa available for DOBBS in London to cover the possibility that DOBBS may be too late for the SUPG affair. Should he be late, he could then pick up the Russian visa in London and proceed directly to Moscow.

Any additional information concerning this matter received from CG 5824-S* will be furnished to the Bureau. Los Angeles is being advised by separate communication, carrying the proper cautionary statements, of the general information noted above.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 5/7/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Re NY airtel 5/5/65 reflecting on page 2 thereof that the Soviets intend to make a delivery of money to the CPUSA at the convenience of NY 694-S*.

On 5/7/65, there was received from the Soviets via radio a ciphered message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Money will be given to you on the day and at the time appointed by you. If, due to unforeseen circumstances, it will be impossible to see you this time, then we will see you in a week--same time."

3 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM AM)

1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)

1 - NY 105-14931 -- (TALANOV) (341)

1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
(3)

REC-29

18 MAY 11 1965

EX 103

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 12 1965

Special Agent in Charge

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 5/3/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 5/3/65, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets,
 via the secondary channel--ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN--six
 microfilmed messages, five in partial code and one in plain
 text.

(1) The following message was in partial code:

"There is as you know more of our last Plenum material for
 your Central Committee's reading, but it is not ready yet.
 You will be handed that as soon as it is completed."

(2) The following message was in partial code:

"CPUSA National Committee Plenum decision that in October
 of this year to inaugurate a pre-CPUSA convention discussion."

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM AM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 (NIKOLAI TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637- (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

REC-29

EX 109

18 MAY 11 1965

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 MAY 12 1965

NY 100-134637

(3) The following message was in partial code:

"PLEASE EXPEDITE

"CCGPSU

"Legal restrictions (again denial of my passport rights), plus the seriousness of the war danger, prevents me from travelling to USSR, the first land of Socialism, to attend the 20th Anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism.

"Accept, dear comrades, my warmest fraternal wishes on the occasion of this great victory. Please present the message which I have written to Chairman Marshal Timoshenko of the Soviet War Veterans Committee.

"May I add: Because of our not being able to send the number of CPUSA Party veterans to the 20th Anniversary on May 8th, we have added (as you already know), our CP member veteran KNUTI SEITANIEMI. We have since decided that also of Michigan could attend, for he, too, is a veteran of World War II. In our haste, we did not have a chance to talk with ROSCOE PROCTOR to know if he, too, would be eligible to attend.

b6
b7c

"GUS HALL"

(4) The following message was in plain text:

"Soviet War Veterans Committee

"Marshall Timoshenko, Chairman

"Allow me to express the warmest of greetings and appreciation for the invitation which you have extended to me as a veteran of World War II, to attend the 20th Anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism, and the celebration which you are holding on May 8th with the veterans of the war against fascism.

NY 100-134637

"This celebration should strengthen all struggles for liberation from aggression, and the struggle for world peace today. This event has special meaning for us at this moment in the struggle against United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic and in Latin America. This day also has meaning in the struggle against the re-armament of Western Germany and the giving of nuclear weapons to those who would revive Nazi terror which threatens world peace.

"Unfortunately, the government of the United States denies me a passport or any opportunity to be with you on this occasion. This is also part of the method of repression in our country. Other veterans from the United States will be present. All of us join in the vow to continue in the struggle for world peace and freedom.

"Long live the friendship between the American and Soviet people which was welded even stronger in the fires of the war against Hitler fascism!

"Long live the bonds of International Solidarity!

"Long Live World Peace!

"With warmest salutations,

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

(5) The following message was in partial code:

"We are sorry about the error of the date of LEON DAVIS and the trade unionists which we gave as May 1st. The correct date is July 1st -- we repeat July 1st. Our intention was only to inform you that he, DAVIS and the trade unionists did not receive any concrete answers from USSR Trade Union institutions. An answer to them is most important.

"GUS HALL"

(Re above message, see NY airtels, 2/5/65, pages 3 and 4, and 4/30/65, page 2.)

(6) The following message was in partial code:

"Sister CAROL next.
Uncle ELLIOTT next."

The above message refers to the next drop and personal contact, respectively.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 5/5/65, NY 694-S* advised that, pursuant to instructions from GUS HALL, relayed through CG 5824-S* telephonically from Chicago, the informant transmitted to the Soviets via the secondary channel--ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN--two partially-coded microfilmed messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1)

"To CCCPSU Most Urgent - Please Expedite

"Most important you issue instructions to your London Embassy to issue visa for BEN DOBBS who is en route to Moscow for May 8 20th anniversary victory celebration.

"Comrade DOBBS is a member of CPUSA National Committee, being sent by me personally as most decorated of Veterans of World War II of our Party. Sorry about this urgency.

"He is carrying with him credentials from me and MORRIS CHILDS.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 105-14931 (NIKOLAI TALANOV) (341)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb

(8)

18 MAY 11 1965

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

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NY 100-134637

"MORRIS CHILDS, International Affairs
Committee, National
Committee

"GUS HALL, National Committee, CPUSA"

(2)

"To CCCPSU

Most Urgent

"We are sending to you today a member of our National Committee - BEN DOBBS - who is most decorated Veteran of our Party in World War II. We are sending him as representative of Veterans from western part of USA.

"Regret this last minute urgency, but it is most important to our Party that BEN DOBBS be in Moscow for this great event - 20th anniversary of defeat of Hitler Fascism.

"MORRIS CHILDS, International Affairs
Committee, National
Committee

"GUS HALL, National Committee, CPUSA"

For the information of the Bureau, the Chicago Office telephonically advised the NYO on 5/4/65 that GUS HALL had telephonically contacted CG 5824-S* from Los Angeles requesting that CG 5824-S* instruct NY 694-S* to send a message to the Soviets to the effect that HALL desired that BEN DOBBS, CPUSA National Committee Member from the Southern District of California, attend the May 7th Veterans celebration of East Germany and also the victory day celebration in Moscow on May 8. (It is believed that the correct date of this celebration in Moscow is May 9.)

CG 5824-S* advised that he was making attempts to contact DOBBS in Los Angeles to arrange that the latter go to

NY 100-134637

Chicago for a conference with CG 5824-S* before leaving for the Soviet Union. CG 5824-S* further advised that he knew that DOBBS had no visa, but did not know whether or not DOBBS had a passport.

In a second message to NY 694-S*, CG 5824-S* requested that NY 694-S* merely request that the Soviets arrange that the visa be provided for DOBBS at the London Embassy of the Soviets. He stated that, by reason of the uncertainties involved in the situation, no reference be made to DOBBS going to the East German Republic, since it was highly improbable that he would arrive there by May 7.

The above information is being furnished by separate airtel to the Los Angeles Office.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 7, 1965

11 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - RUSSIA
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Handwritten:
100-428091
IN-12, 5-10-65
Wpm

b6
b7C

In late February, 1965, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made the following comments concerning the national liberation movements:

Peaceful coexistence has another side and that is the class struggle. Peaceful coexistence creates the most favorable conditions for the national liberation movements and "anti-imperialist struggles." While trying to prevent a world war, the Soviet Union has never stopped waging wars of liberation. There is hardly a corner of the globe where Soviet arms are not helping wars of liberation. In Cuba, the best armed country in Latin America, there is a joke which says the island is sinking because of the weight of arms sent by the Soviet Union.

In the Congo assistance is streaming to the insurgents through various routes such as the United Arab Republic, Ghana and other countries. At present the situation in Brazzaville, Republic of the Congo, is very tense. There preparations are being made to defend against a plot in which the United States Central Intelligence Agency has a hand. The insurgents have asked for help and a direct route for assistance is being opened between Moscow, Russia, and Brazzaville.

Handwritten: 2

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

RCP:pah
(7)

Handwritten: pah

REC-29
~~EX-105 SECRET~~

100-428091-4795
18 MAY 11 1965

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

65 MAY 12 1965 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten: Wm, Car

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

This action is not appeasement or conciliation of "imperialism" nor is it contrary to the policy of peaceful coexistence. It holds "imperialism" by the neck with one hand and helps the masses of people against "imperialism" with the other. This is exactly what the Communist Party of China says the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not doing.

The above information was furnished by sources which have supplied reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~".

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

b6
b7C

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~